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# CURRENT HISTORY

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE of The New York Times

February

1917

UNITED STATES

JAN 31 1917

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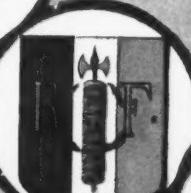
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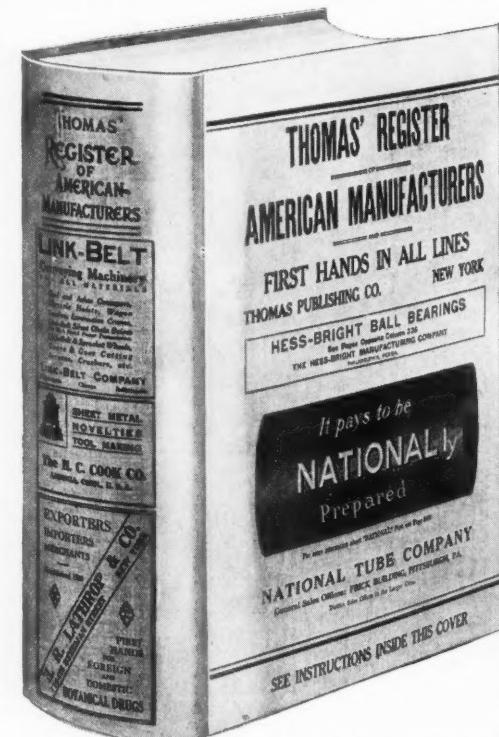
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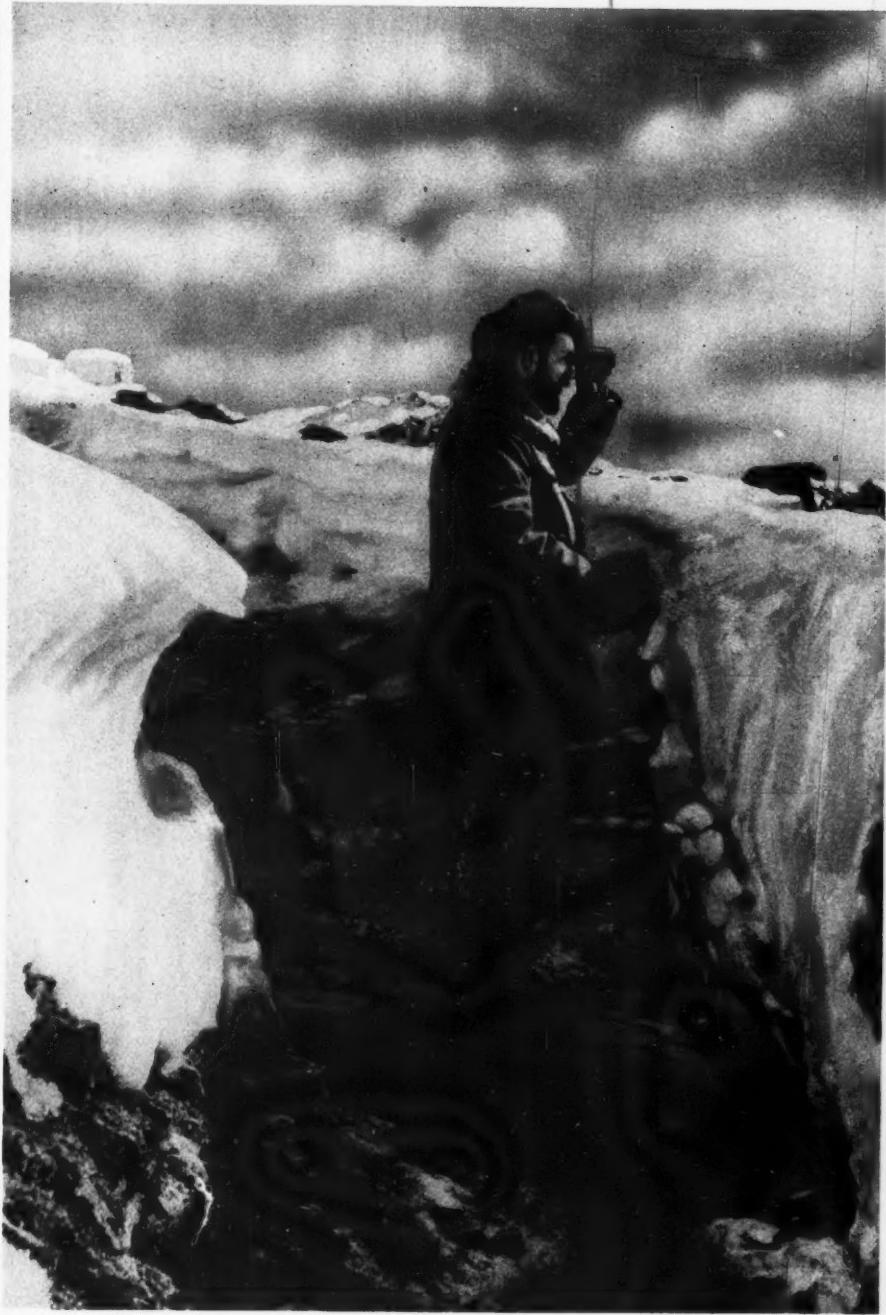
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WINTER IN THE VOSGES TRENCHES



French Observation Post in the Vosges Mountains: A Sentry  
Watching for German Aeroplanes  
*(Photo from Underwood & Underwood.)*

WINTER IN GALICIA



A Village Along the Stripa River Through Which an  
Army's Lines Now Run

(Photo © International Film Service.)

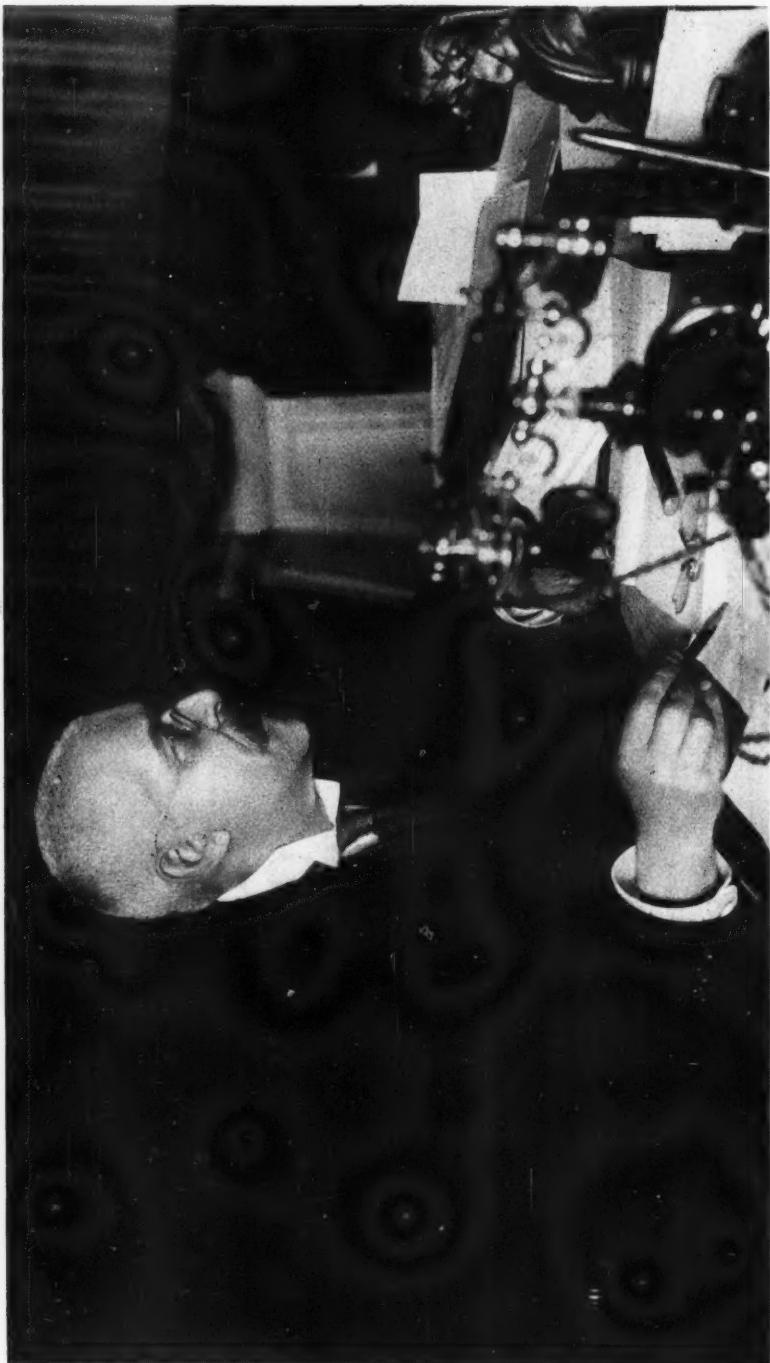
## A BRITISH BOMB PROJECTOR



This Bomb Thrower, Seen at the Moment of Loading,  
Represents an Important Element in Trench Warfare

(Photo © International Film Service.)

NEW PREMIER OF GREECE



Professor Spyridon P. Lambros, President of the Greek Council of Ministers, Has Taken Part  
in Many Stormy Scenes

(Bain News Agency.)

ADMIRAL VON HOLTZENDORF



Chief of the Admiralty Staff of the German Navy  
*(Photo from Press Illustrating Co.)*

GENERAL LYAUTEY



New Minister of War in the French Cabinet, Former Governor of Morocco, and Member of the French Academy

# CURRENT HISTORY

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE OF THE NEW YORK TIMES

FEBRUARY, 1917

[FEBRUARY EDITION 56,000 COPIES]

## WORLD EVENTS OF THE MONTH

### PEACE DISCUSSIONS

PEACE was the outstanding topic of the month just past. Germany's peace proposal and President Wilson's formal request that the belligerents state their peace terms overshadowed every other theme. All the official interchanges and documents on both phases of the subject appear textually in this issue. The action of President Wilson at first justified a hope that the preliminaries of a peace conference were in sight, but the definite reply of the Allies discouraged this expectation, and hope was finally shattered both by the effect the reply produced in Germany and by the British Foreign Minister's amplification of the reply, which served to arouse the entire German population through a specific reference to the cession of Alsace-Lorraine to France as a condition of peace.

The news from Washington at the hour of going to press indicated that President Wilson had abandoned for the present any further exchange of notes with the belligerents on the subject of peace. Moreover, the rather pointed references in the Balfour note to a league to "enforce peace" rather than a league to "insure peace," such as President Wilson had in mind, is regarded in high circles as a plain intimation that Great Britain does not regard as practical a league that will seek to insure future peace by moral suasion.

\* \* \*

### THE MILITARY SITUATION

MILITARY operations were practically at a standstill during the month, except in Northern Dobrudja, the Riga sector, and the Sinai Peninsula. The

Germans, with their Turkish, Austro-Hungarian, and Bulgarian allies, pushed back the Russian and Rumanian forces from Central and part of Eastern Rumania; they came into complete control of the Dobrudja, with advances threatening Moldavia and even Bessarabia. In the Riga sector the Russians took the offensive and gained some advantage, advancing nearly a mile. The British defeated the Turks in Northern Egypt, removing the danger threatening the Suez Canal; they pushed their forces eastward toward Palestine, taking Raffa, within seventy miles of Jerusalem. British troops also showed activity in Mesopotamia, and again threatened Kut. The Saloniki army was quiet. There was little activity along the Italian fronts, and no important action in France, after the retaking of Hardaumont in the Verdun sector.

German submarines were busy during the month, torpedoing many large merchant vessels and at least one battleship, the Cornwallis, with several transports and minor naval craft. The operations of a German sea raider, reported to have sunk a score of allied merchant vessels in the South Atlantic, were among the months' surprises. The number of allied vessels destroyed in November was 191, according to an official German report.

\* \* \*

### THE WAR COUNCIL AT ROME

THE month was replete with political events of deep import. Of chief significance was the conference of the Entente Premiers at Rome. Italy was represented by her Premier, Paolo Boselli; Great Britain by Premier Lloyd George and Viscount Milner; France by Premier

Briand, General Lyautey, War Minister; Russia by General Palitzin. The conference was held on Jan. 6 and 7. No official statements were made of what occurred, except that the conference was entirely satisfactory and would result in a closer harmony than ever before in the plans of the Entente. It is reported that as a result Italy was won over to the Balkan plans of her allies, for a new and drastic ultimatum was served on Greece about this time; it is believed also that an agreement was reached with reference to the Macedonian campaign as well as a general understanding looking to closer unity of operations. All the Governments which participated let it be known that the conference was entirely harmonious and its results eminently satisfactory.

\* \* \*

#### IMPORTANT CABINET CHANGES

**A**NOTHER spectacular change occurred in the Russian Cabinet. On Jan. 9 the Premier, Alexander Trepoff, and Count Ignatief, Minister of Public Instruction, resigned unexpectedly, and it is reported that they did so unwillingly at the demand of the Czar. Prince Golitzine, a Senator and member of the Council of the Empire, was appointed Premier and Senator Kulchitsky Minister of Public Instruction. The new Premier was born in Wiesbaden, Prussia, in 1860. This is the third change in the Premiership in a year; in fourteen months there were eight changes in the Ministry of the Interior. It is the general conviction that the fall of Trepoff means a blow at liberalism and the appointment of Golitzine a triumph for the reactionaries, though Protopopoff, who is regarded as the real power, is accredited with liberal tendencies and a favorable attitude toward a new commercial treaty with the United States.

The downfall of Herr von Koerber, the Austrian Premier, was unexpected, as he had held office only a few weeks following the assassination of Count Stuergh. His retirement is said to be due to the influence of the Hungarian Premier, Count Tisza, who had found in von Koerber an opponent to the control of Austrian affairs by Germany, and to

the dominance of Magyar influences at the Austrian Court; it is stated that while the old Emperor had grown restive under this state of affairs, the new Emperor takes a sympathetic view and practically dismissed von Koerber.

\* \* \*

#### DANISH ISLANDS TRANSFERRED

**S**ECRETARY LANSING and Constantin Brun, the Danish Minister, formally exchanged ratifications on Jan. 17, 1917, of the treaty conveying the Danish West Indies to the United States, thus marking the beginning of American sovereignty over the islands. Actual physical possession will take place as soon as the purchase price, \$25,000,000, is paid to Denmark, which will be promptly done. It is likely that a Civil Governor, a naval officer and a Customs Collector will be designated, and that the present local administration will not be disturbed.

\* \* \*

#### DECLINE IN BRITISH SECURITIES

**T**HIS LONDON BANKERS' MAGAZINE computes the total depreciation in value of 387 representative British securities between July 20, 1914, and Jan. 1, 1916, to be \$4,610,000,000; during 1916 the shrinkage was \$745,000,000, in 1915 \$1,035,000,000. In the ten days immediately preceding the declaration of war these securities decreased in value \$950,000,000. The securities range from British and Indian Government bonds to mining shares, comprising all the representative classes of investment. British railway stocks show a decline of \$285,035,000. British and Indian Government securities lost value to the extent of \$256,930,000.

\* \* \*

**O**N Jan. 18, 1917, the following were the quotations of foreign exchange, together with the standard values at normal times: 4 marks, 67½ cents, normally, 95 1-5; sterling, 4.75 13-16, normally, 4.86%; francs, 5.84%, normally 5.18½ to the dollar; lire, 7.00, normally, 5.18; Austrian kronen, 10.90, normally, 20.3 cents; rubles, 28.95, normally, 51.2 cents; Holland guilders, 40 13-16, normally, 40.2 cents; Swiss, 5.02, normally, 5.18½ cents.

## THE GERMAN SEA RAIDER

**A** DRAMATIC but also profoundly tragic episode of the war developed when the Japanese steamer Hudson Maru reached Pernambuco, Brazil, Jan. 15 with 237 men from crews of various British and French vessels that had been tor-

Vessel.	Tonnage.	Point of Departure.
Drina, (Br.).....	11,483....	Rio Janeiro, Dec. 17, for Liverpool.
Georgie, (Br.).....	10,077....	Philadelphia, Dec. 3, for Liverpool.
Voltaire, (Br.).....	8,618....	Liverpool, Nov. 28, for New York.
Ortega, (Br.).....	8,075....	Antofagasta, Oct. 28, for Liverpool.
Mount Temple, (Br.).....	7,556....	Montreal, Dec. 3, for London.
Samara, (Fr.).....	6,007....	Last reported from Bordeaux, Nov. 8.
Dramatist, (Br.).....	5,421....	St. Lucia, Dec. 10, for Liverpool.
Netherby Hall, (Br.).....	4,461....	Far East, for Cuba.
Hammershus, (Dan.).....	3,931....	New York, Dec. 24, for South American ports.
Radnorshire, (Br.).....	4,302....	No data as to movements.
King George, (Br.).....	3,852....	Philadelphia, Nov. 24, for Manchester.
Hudson Maru, (Japan).....	3,798....	Bombay, Nov. 27, for Philadelphia.
St. Theodore, (Br.).....	3,175....	Norfolk, Dec. 5, for Savona.
Yarrowdale, (Br.).....	2,914....	Supposed to have sailed from Havre.
Nantes, (Fr.).....	2,679....	Iquique, Oct. 9, for London.
Asnières, (Fr.).....	2,715....	Bahia Blanca, Nov. 29, for Pauillac.
Miniah, (Br.).....	2,381....	No data as to movements.
St. Sael.....	—	Not in Lloyd's Register.
Gailey .....	—	Not in Lloyd's Register.
Michnethiel .....	—	Not in Lloyd's Register.
Nesser .....	—	Not in Lloyd's Register.
Newport Land.....	—	Not in Lloyd's Register.
San Giorgio.....	—	Several vessels of name in register.

On Jan. 18 two other vessels were added to the list of supposed victims. The Araguaya, (British,) 10,537 tons, and the Admiral Latouche Treville, (French,) 5,573 tons. The value of the vessels and cargoes of the missing ships is estimated to be in the neighborhood of \$20,000,000.

**S**IR DOUGLAS HAIG, Commander in Chief of the British Forces, on Dec. 30 rendered his official report of the offensive on the Somme, covering the period from July 19 until the Winter stopped further activities. This report will be printed in our March number.

The Commander in Chief says in his more general conclusions:

The three main objects with which we had commenced our offensive in July had already (by Nov. 18) been achieved, in spite of the fact that the heavy Autumn rains had prevented full advantage being taken of the favorable situation created by our advance, at a time when we had good grounds for hoping to achieve yet more important successes.

Verdun had been relieved;

The main German forces had been held on the western front, and

The enemy's strength had been very considerably worn down.

pedoed or captured in the South Atlantic during the two weeks preceding by a German raider. On the 17th the following vessels were reported as having fallen victims to the craft, whose identity up to the hour of going to press was unknown:

Vessel.	Tonnage.	Point of Departure.
Drina, (Br.).....	11,483....	Rio Janeiro, Dec. 17, for Liverpool.
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San Giorgio.....	—	Several vessels of name in register.

When the news was flashed marine rates jumped immediately from 20 to 50 per cent. Four fast British cruisers, capable of nineteen to twenty-five knots an hour, began the hunt for the raider, but up to the 20th it had not been discovered.

Any one of these three results is in itself sufficient to justify the Somme battle. The attainment of all three of them affords ample compensation for the splendid efforts of our troops and for the sacrifices made by ourselves and our allies. They have brought us a long step forward toward the final victory of the allied cause.

Sir Douglas Haig reports the capture of 38,000 prisoners, including more than 800 officers. His message, which is full of the assurance of victory, concludes thus:

The enemy's power has not yet been broken, nor is it yet possible to form an estimate of the time the war may last before the objects for which the Allies are fighting have been attained. But the Somme battle has placed beyond doubt the ability of the Allies to gain those objects. The German Army is the mainstay of the Central Powers, and a full half of that army, despite all the advantages of the defensive, supported by the strongest fortifications, suffered defeat on the Somme

this year. Neither victors nor vanquished will forget this; and, though bad weather has given the enemy a respite, there will undoubtedly be many thousands in his ranks who will begin the new campaign with little confidence in their ability to resist our assaults or to overcome our defense. Our new armies entered the battle with the determination to win and with confidence in their power to do so. They have proved to themselves, to the enemy, and to the world that this confidence was justified, and in the fierce struggle they have been through they have learned many valuable lessons which will help them in the future.

\* \* \*

#### DIMITRIEFF ON THE RIGA FRONT

THE recent Russian offensive on the Riga-Dvinsk line, with the German base at Mitau as its main objective, has brought once again into the limelight one of the most interesting figures of the war, the Bulgarian General, Radko Dimitrieff, who, it appears, is in command of the Riga-Dvinsk offensive. As long ago as 1886, Radko Dimitrieff made a name for himself by helping to force the abdication of Prince Alexander, by the drastic expedient of kidnapping him in his own yacht, which had been presented to him by the Russian Emperor. In the war of 1912, against Turkey, General Radko Dimitrieff showed himself by far the ablest field commander in the Balkans, winning the great victories of Lule Burgas and Kirk Kilisseh, which practically broke the Turkish power. Unable to support the policies of Tsar Ferdinand of Bulgaria, Radko Dimitrieff then went to Russia and, when the world war broke out, offered his sword to the Russian Emperor. He was given command of an army corps in General Brusiloff's first army, which invaded Galicia early in September, 1914, and is said at that time to have created the epigram, "Don't count the enemy; hit him!" in reply to a hesitating subordinate. For a considerable time his name did not appear in the dispatches. It has come to light now in the new Riga-Dvinsk offensive.

\* \* \*

#### ITALY'S EASTERN EMPIRE

ITALY'S probable intervention in Macedonia may remind us that in recent years the peninsula kingdom has ac-

quired large holdings in the Near East; holdings amounting to many times her own area. Italy has an area of 110,000 square miles, with a population of 36,000,000; in other words, with about half the area of France, she has a population nearly equal to that of France. She holds the following dependencies: Eritrea, on the Red Sea, and taking its name from the old Greek name of that sea, is about equal in area to the former Kingdom of Naples, and has a coast line of some 700 miles. Italian Somaliland is a third larger than Italy, though sparsely peopled. Both these colonies are run at a loss, receiving large subventions from home. The third Italian possession is Lybia, (Tripoli and Cyrenaica,) taken from Turkey by the Italians just before the two Balkan wars, after it had been in Turkish hands for about two centuries. It is between three and four times as large as Italy, and is also subsidized by the home Government. Much of it is fertile, growing both cereals and fruit, but it has also a very important strength of position, linking the British-controlled region of Egypt with the French Tunis, Algeria, and now Morocco; so that the whole coastline of Northern Africa is now in the hands of these three Entente Powers. The possession of Lybia makes Italy an Eastern-Mediterranean power, and brings her directly south of Crete and the Grecian Isles.

\* \* \*

#### GENERAL BRUSILOFF'S FORECAST

IMPORTANT light on the situation in Russia is shed by a declaration of General Brusiloff to an English war correspondent in the Carpathian region, on the eve of the new year. General Brusiloff said that Russia would not be able to develop all her forces before the Spring of 1917, but that Russia would then possess the greatest and completest army in her history. Up to the present, and throughout 1916, Russia had had to fight with a notable inferiority in war material and heavy guns, but in 1917 she would find herself mistress of material equal to that of her adversaries, while at the same time disposing of an extraordinary superiority of men; and that this advantage would continue to grow in her

favor until the end of the war. General Brusiloff added that, in his personal view, even from the beginning of the war, the adversaries of Russia had never had the smallest possibility of winning a decisive victory, but that, while these adversaries continued to report a succession of victories in the field, it would be difficult to persuade them that they were certain to be defeated. The situation in Rumania, though grave, was not such as to cause real alarm, and had, so far, no strategic importance, from the point of view of the general plan of the Allies.

\* \* \*

#### THE MURDER OF RASPUTIN

THE bloody record of Russia's political history was maintained in December by the murder of Rasputin, the famous monk who was supposed to exercise a great influence over the Czar and who was under suspicion of holding pro-German sympathies. Two previous attempts to assassinate him had failed. The murder is alleged to have been instigated by high officials, one of whom is said to be a Prince.

The Czar first met Rasputin in 1905 through the Countess Ignatieff, wife of a former Governor of Siberia and much interested in the cult of the "Chlysty," a sect of flagellants, which Rasputin was trying to revive. In the Countess's circle, where the Czar was then an occasional visitor, were the Montenegrin Princess Militza, wife of the Grand Duke Peter Nikolaievitch; Prince Putjatin, Court Marshal; Count Benckendorff, Prince Orloff, and, finally, General Soukhomlinoff. The latter was the Russian War Minister during the fatal campaign in East Prussia, when traitors were believed to have betrayed the Russian armies in the field and left them without reserves of munitions at home. In June, 1915, Soukhomlinoff resigned and was later arrested and lodged in the Fortress of Peter and Paul. Rasputin was suspected of participation in the betrayal of military plans to the Germans.

It has been said that when the war began the genuine Muscovites gradually dropped away from the circle, leaving only Baltic Russians with German ideas

behind, and that the circle then became the centre of German propaganda, to which Brusiloff referred in April, 1916, when he took command of the southern Russian armies and said to the war correspondents:

"Not a line can you write from here—not a message will go forth till something happens. In Petrograd they have a switchboard with connections with Berlin."

\* \* \*

#### AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN WAR LOANS

RETURNS from the fifth Austrian war loan show 4,412,800,000 crowns (nominally \$895,798,000) subscribed with approximately 300,000,000 additional already subscribed but still outstanding. The loan is thus the largest yet raised in Austria. The first levy was 2,217,000,000 crowns, the second 2,688,320,000, the third 4,202,600,000, the fourth 4,520,300,000. The new loan makes the total raised for war by Austria about 18,400,000,000 crowns. Subscriptions to the Hungarian fifth war loan reached 2,300,000,000 crowns, (\$460,000,000 normal exchange,) as compared with 1,175,000,000 for the first, 1,132,000,000 for the second, 1,970,000,000 for the third, and 2,000,000,000 for the fourth.

\* \* \*

#### SERGEANT JULIEN AT DOUAUMONT

ON the evening of the great attack, by which General Nivelle and General Mangin won back the famous fort of Douaumont, Sergeant Julien of the Thirteenth Company, sent out for supplies, losing his way in the dark, was captured by a wandering band of German soldiers, who bound him and took him to a German dugout, which was now, though unknown to its occupants, well within the new French lines. The Germans asked him who he was, how he had come there, and, when, bewildered, he hesitated in his answers, reminded him that they were not inclined to stand on ceremony with a prisoner. "Prisoner?" replied Sergeant Julien; "that remains to be seen! First of all, where are we? At the La Dame ravine? Well, then, listen to this! Thiaumont is in our hands! Douaumont has been ours since this afternoon. You are the only people

who do not know it; consequently, it is you who are prisoners!" The tone of the captors changed. Their commander ordered them to lay down their arms, and the whole company, two hundred in number, with six machine guns, marched over to the French lines after Sergeant Julien. No story could better illustrate the extraordinary suddenness with which General Nivelle's offensive was carried out than this almost fantastic tale, which is, nevertheless, well attested.

\* \* \*

#### THE ISLES OF GREECE

IT has just been announced that England and France have taken possession of the Island of Cerigo, at the southeastern extremity of the Morea, the southern peninsula of Greece, which is, strictly speaking, no longer a peninsula but an island, since the cutting of the canal across the Isthmus of Corinth. The occupation is justified by the fact that there have been submarine bases in this and other islands. It further complicates the situation of the Grecian Isles.

Corfu, one of the Ionian Islands ceded to Greece by England when Prince George of Denmark was made King of Greece, has been for some time in the hands of France, which there fitted out the rejuvenated Serbian Army. Crete has recently declared itself independent of Greece, after seeking union through many turbulent years. Imbros and Tenedos, which the Greek fleet captured in the Balkan war of 1912, were returned, under the treaties of London and Athens, to Turkey, and are now used as bases by the Allies.

The famous islands along the Asian-Ionian coast—Mitylene, Chios, Samos, and Rhodes—have not been greatly affected by the war; they are still under Turkish sovereignty. But they belong to European, not to Asian, history, and here, perhaps, Italy reaps her reward for more extensive action in the Balkans. Cerigo, by the way, is the ancient Cytherea, from which Aphrodite took the

name of Cytherea; off its shore the Goddess of Beauty rose from the foam of the sea.

\* \* \*

#### VISCOUNT BRYCE AND ARMENIA

THE declared determination of the Allies to drive the Ottoman Turks from Europe, and the reference to the Amenian massacres as a justification of this determination, draw attention to the report just issued under the editorship of Viscount Bryce, copious extracts from which appeared in *CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE* for last November. In his younger days Mr. Bryce was an enthusiastic Alpine climber; as such he visited the Caucasus and was one of the first, if not the first, to climb to the top of Mount Ararat and other summits in the Armenian region. He therefore knows the country well. Lord Bryce thus sums the matter up: "The gravest facts are those for which the evidence is most complete, and it all tallies fatally with that which twenty years ago established the guilt of Abdul Hamid for the deeds that have made his name infamous. In this case there are, moreover, what was wanting then, admissions which add weight to the testimony here presented—I mean the admissions of the Turkish Government and their German apologists. The attempt made to find excuses for wholesale slaughter and for the removal of a whole people from its homes leave no doubt as to the slaughter and the removal. The main facts are established by the confession of the criminals themselves."

\* \* \*

THE war has stimulated remarkably the trade of the United States with South America. During the first seven months of 1914 our total trade with South America (imports and exports) was \$202,443,267, whereas it increased to \$373,123,532 in the same period of 1916. Exports in the designated period of 1916 were \$117,970,099, as against \$60,091,209 in the corresponding period of 1914, an increase of nearly 100 per cent.

# PRESIDENT'S PEACE EFFORTS

## Summary of the Movement and Text of Replies From Belligerents and Neutrals

PRESIDENT WILSON'S effort to bring about peace by requesting from the belligerents an avowal of precise terms upon which the war might be concluded was first made known to the world on Dec. 20, 1916, through the publication of an identic note which he had sent through Secretary Lansing on Dec. 18 to all the belligerent and neutral powers. The text of this note was printed in the January issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE. The publication of the note created a violent break in the New York stock market, which later became a semi-panic in consequence of an announcement by Secretary Lansing, who, in explaining the note, affirmed that this country was on "the verge of war."

### *Secretary Lansing's Statements*

His first statement was as follows:

It isn't our material interest we had in mind when the note was sent, but more and more our own rights are becoming involved by the belligerents on both sides, so that the situation is becoming increasingly critical.

I mean by that that we are drawing nearer the verge of war ourselves, and therefore we are entitled to know exactly what each belligerent seeks, in order that we may regulate our conduct in the future.

No nation has been sounded. No consideration of the German overtures or of the speech of Lloyd George was taken into account in the formulation of the document. The only thing the overtures did was to delay it a few days. It was not decided to send it until Monday. Of course, the difficulty that faced the President was that it might be construed as a movement toward peace and in aid of the German overtures. He specifically denies that that was the fact in the document itself.

The sending of this note will indicate the possibility of our being forced into the war. That possibility ought to serve as a restraining and sobering force, safeguarding American rights. It may also serve to force an earlier conclusion of the war. Neither the President nor myself regards this note as a peace note; it is merely an effort to get the belligerents to define the end for which they are fighting.

The effect of this statement was so ex-

tremely disquieting that Secretary Lansing later in the day (Dec. 20) issued a second statement as follows:

I have learned from several quarters that a wrong impression was made by the statement which I made this morning, and I wish to correct that impression.

My intention was to suggest the very direct and necessary interest which this country, as one of the neutral nations, has in the possible terms which the belligerents may have in mind, and I did not intend to intimate that the Government was considering any change in its policy of neutrality, which it has consistently pursued in the face of constantly increasing difficulties.

I regret that my words were open to any other construction, as I now realize that they were. I think that the whole tone and language of the note to the belligerents show the purpose without further comment on my part. It is needless to say that I am unreservedly in support of that purpose and hope to see it accepted.

While the second announcement was more reassuring, nevertheless the firm request of the President and the apparently contradictory explanations of the Secretary of State produced profound uneasiness throughout the country and caused panicky declines in stocks and sensational fluctuations in grain and commodity markets. Stocks in general declined from 10 to 20 points—some munition stocks fell 100 points. Wheat jumped 10 to 20 cents, and declined with equal suddenness, while cotton oscillated with almost unprecedented violence.

### *Reception of the Note*

The action of the President was received with distinct approval throughout the Central Empires, and was construed as supporting their peace proposals, although the President had distinctly disavowed any connection between the two. Among the Entente nations, on the other hand, President Wilson's action and Secretary Lansing's explanations left an unfavorable impression and were bitterly resented by many influential statesmen, publicists, and newspapers in France, England, Italy, and Canada. In neutral

countries the American note was officially approved, except by Spain, and the general attitude of the neutral public seemed amiably complaisant toward the movement. In the United States the comment was mixed—extreme pro-allied sympathizers were emphatic in denouncing the entire procedure as inopportune and ill-advised, and Secretary Lansing came in for extremely acrid criticism for his explanations. Pacifists, pro-Germans, and partisans of the President applauded his course and prophesied that it would bring about peace. Three weeks later, when the Allies' reply had been received, opinions everywhere had changed, and President Wilson was strongly commended throughout the world for having pursued a judicious and statesmanlike course.

#### *Indorsed by the Senate*

The following resolution was introduced Dec. 20, 1916, in the United States Senate by Senator Hitchcock, (Democrat, of Nebraska):

Resolved, That the Senate approves and strongly indorses the action taken by the President in sending the diplomatic notes of Dec. 18 to the nations now engaged in war, suggesting and recommending that those nations state the terms upon which peace might be discussed.

The resolution was the cause of a notable debate, in which Senators Borah and Lodge took the position that the passage of the resolution in the form offered would commit the United States to a program supporting an international League to Enforce Peace—after the war—and would mean the abandonment of the Monroe Doctrine and the precipitation of the United States into the political complications and alliances of Europe.

The opposition to the resolution was so ably presented that its supporters were in the end convinced, and finally accepted the following modification, which was adopted:

Resolved, That the Senate approves and strongly indorses the request of the President in the diplomatic notes of Dec. 18 to the nations now engaged in war that those nations state the terms upon which peace might be discussed.

Seventeen votes were recorded against the resolution as finally amended, and 47 in the affirmative.

#### *Senator Borah's Parallel*

Senator Borah of Idaho, in his speech opposing the original resolution, used the following illustration, which is characteristic of his argument:

It means not only the abandonment of the doctrine of neutrality established by Washington, but it means the abandonment of the Monroe Doctrine announced by Monroe upon the mature advice of Jefferson. Take some of the illustrations which show the dangerous course upon which we are about to enter if we indorse such a policy, and I am going to use the names of some of the nations, although in doing so of course I am not to be considered as using them because I either fear them or would offend them, but simply as an illustration.

We will assume now that the partnership of which the President spoke has been formed, that the co-operation has been completed and the combined alliance has been made, and in that combination and alliance are Japan and Russia and the United States, and we will assume that after the combination is made Russia and Japan have a dispute as to rights in Manchuria. Japan insists that it should be submitted to the arbitral tribunal. Russia insists that it involves her vital interests, refuses to submit it, and moves her troops immediately to the contested territory. Under the league alliance which we have formed and the treaties which we have made we must join with Japan in enforcing or punishing Russia for refusing to submit her proposition to the tribunal.

Let us take another illustration. We will assume that Mexico has been restored to law and order as a Government, and that Mexico is a member of the alliance, and that Japan is a member of the alliance, and that Mexico conceived the idea of leasing Magdalena Bay to Japan for ninety-nine years, and we protest against it. We have already joined the alliance. They are members of it. Mexico says, "Certainly I have a right to dispose of my territory," and Japan says, "I have a right to purchase," and they are all members of a common league bound together for a common purpose. Would the United States submit that question to a tribunal where it has but one vote or one voice and permit its entire future to be disposed of by a court where it has but a single representative?

#### *The "Leak" Episode*

Another episode growing out of the note was a declaration in the House of Representatives that the intention to send the note had "leaked out" from official sources several days in advance to certain Stock Exchange firms, and that various Government officials in high station had profited enormously on the stock market by the "inside tip." Congress or-

dered an investigation by the Committee of Rules, and a number of prominent stock operators and public officials were called as witnesses. A letter to a Congressman, signed by one "Curtis," whose identity has not been established, named among others the President's Secretary, Mr. Tumulty, and R. W. Bolling, a brother of the President's first wife, as beneficiaries from the sale of stocks by the advance information. Secretary Tumulty, Mr. Bolling, and others testified before the committee and were fully exonerated, proving clearly the falsity of the charges, while Secretary Lansing and others testified as to the secrecy maintained in official circles respecting the notes. Certain Stock Exchange operators were also summoned, but in the judgment of the committee nothing was developed to justify the charges, though one operator, Thomas W. Lawson of Boston, was so offensive to the committee that he was cited for contempt. He made charges reflecting on Cabinet officers and other high officials, yet refused to give their names or to name his informants unless Congress broadened the scope of the investigating committee and clothed it with inquisitorial powers. This was done by formal resolution on Jan. 13, and on Jan. 15 Mr. Lawson reappeared before the committee and was subjected to a searching cross-examination. He stated that he had been informed by Congressman Henry, Chairman of the Rules Committee, that the rumors regarding "the leak beneficiaries" involved Mr. McAdoo, Secretary of the Treasury; Mr. Tumulty, Private Secretary to the President, and various prominent New York bankers. Mr. Lawson stated that he had no personal information regarding the matter. His giving of names created considerable excitement and brought forth indignant denials from Secretary McAdoo and Mr. Tumulty, with protests against being thus assailed by irresponsible scandal-gossip. Chairman Henry also denied the statements affecting him.

In consequence of these charges Congress passed a resolution further broadening the scope of the inquiry committee and authorizing it to employ counsel, the

evident intention being to ascertain by a thorough inquiry whether or not certain New York financiers and Stock Exchange houses had at any time obtained advance information of proposed official documents or utterances which might affect stock values. This inquiry is proceeding as these pages go to press.

#### *Replies of the Nations*

The responses of the belligerents to the President's request showed a wide dissimilarity of tone and contents. The Central Powers replied on Dec. 26, within a week after the note was received by them. While not declining the President's request, they did not avow their terms, but suggested that these would be forthcoming at an "immediate exchange of views" by the belligerents. [The text of this reply appears on Page 783.]

The reply of the Entente Allies was handed to Ambassador Sharp at Paris on Jan. 11, 1917, by Premier Briand, and was made public on Jan. 12. It was elaborate and specific, giving terms in definite language. Belgium presented a separate note. [The text of these replies, including the original French text of the Entente note, appears on Pages 783-8.]

The same day Premier Lloyd George made an important address at London regarding the new loan. It bore directly on the reply and confirmed more elaborately the Entente's general terms. Likewise on the same day Paul Deschanel, addressing the Chamber of Deputies after his re-election to the Presidency of that body, stated that the first articles of France's peace program were the restitution of Belgium and the restoration of Alsace-Lorraine to France. [These utterances appear on Pages 793-6.]

Germany on Jan. 11 issued another address to the neutral world to appear contemporaneously with the answer of the Allies; it explains in detail why Germany took up arms, and formulates her ideals. [Page 789.]

The reply of the Entente Allies was supplemented by a statement issued Jan. 13 by Arthur J. Balfour, British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in the nature of an amplification of the joint reply. This was made public Jan. 18, 1917. It appears on Page 786.

The action of President Wilson brought forth approving replies from Switzerland, Greece, and the Scandinavian States, but Spain, while approving the efforts to bring about peace, indicated that she could not concur in the President's course at the present time. The text of these replies appears in the pages that follow.

#### *Kaiser Denounces Allies' Reply*

The first official cognizance of the reply of the Allies came from Kaiser Wilhelm in the form of the following Proclamation to the German People, issued Jan. 13, 1917:

Our enemies have dropped the mask. After refusing with scorn and hypocritical words of love for peace and humanity our honest peace offer, they have now, in their reply to the United States, gone beyond that and admitted their lust for conquest, the baseness of which is further enhanced by their calumnious assertions.

Their aim is the crushing of Germany, the dismemberment of the powers allied with us, and the enslavement of the freedom of Europe and the seas, under the same yoke that Greece, with gnashing of teeth, is now enduring.

But what they could not achieve in thirty months of the bloodiest fighting and unscrupulous economic war they will also fail to accomplish in the future. Our glorious victories and our iron strength of will with which our fighting people at the front and at home have borne all hardships and distress guarantee that also in the future our beloved Fatherland has nothing to fear.

Burning indignation and holy wrath will redouble the strength of every German man and woman, whether it is devoted to fighting, to work, or to suffering. We are ready for all sacrifices.

The God who planted His glorious spirit of freedom in the hearts of our brave peoples will also give us and our loyal allies, tested in battle, the full victory over all the enemy lust for power and rage for destruction.

WILHELM, I. R.

#### *Two German Kings Approve*

On Jan. 15 the Bavarian and Saxon Kings sent telegrams to the Emperor congratulating him on this proclamation. The King of Bavaria said: "Your Majesty's strong words to the German people at the arrogant reply of our enemies find a lively echo in all hearts."

He offered assurances that the Bavarians would continue "the fight which was forced upon us" in order to enforce peace.

The King of Saxony sent a similar telegram, thanking the Emperor for his appeal to the German people and expressing the King's indignation at the rejection by the Allies of the peace proposal and a determination not to sheathe the sword until a complete victory is achieved.

Dr. Johannes Kaempf, President of the Reichstag, also wired Emperor William, saying that the entire German Nation would stand round the Emperor with unshakable will "until the enemy's disgraceful plans are shattered."

The comments of the German newspapers and public men were in the same tone as the Emperor's proclamation. A wave of indignation is reported to have swept over the German Empire, and the official news agencies assert that the answer of the Allies has united the German people to fight to the end as has no other incident since the war began.

#### *Dr. Zimmermann's Reply*

Dr. Alfred Zimmermann, the new German Foreign Minister, stated for publication officially on Jan. 15 that in his opinion the Entente reply to President Wilson's peace note barred the possibility for the present of further German steps to bring about peace. In particular, he said, it precluded any direct announcement by Germany of her peace conditions in answer to the terms set forth in the Entente note.

Dr. Zimmermann asserted, however, that the answer of the Entente to the President did not finally and completely close the door to later efforts for peace before one side or the other was completely crushed.

The Foreign Minister, in the course of a conversation with The Associated Press correspondent, said that it was impossible for him to give a more definite statement of the peace program of the Central Powers than that indicated in the declarations of Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg, the Chancellor, because the German terms were such that "the unsolicited promulgation of them in their moderate details," after what he characterized as the aspiring program of "conquest and dismemberment" outlined

by the Entente, would be interpreted by the Entente Powers as a sign of weakness and of a desire for peace at any cost.

Publication of the peace terms of the Central Powers, therefore, would defeat its every purpose, said Dr. Zimmermann. The Foreign Minister expressed doubt whether, after what he described as the rebuff to President Wilson's peace efforts given in the reply of the Entente, the President could take any further action for the present, adding that the Entente answer excluded for the present any possibility of peace.

Expressing a profound conviction that the program of the Entente Powers never would be carried into effect, Dr. Zimmermann intimated that a failure of the Entente's offensive this year, which he expected, might again make it possible to approach the subject of peace on reasonable terms and with some prospect of success.

"The Entente Powers gave out for themselves a big program," said Dr. Zimmermann, in answer to a question as to his opinion on the note to President Wilson. "What more is there for Germany to say regarding it?"

"Now that the Allies have to a certain extent outlined their plans," said the correspondent, "do you think there is any possibility of Germany declaring in some form or other its program for a peace settlement?"

"No," replied the Minister, "I think we can do nothing more. We cannot afford to give the impression that we are chasing after peace at all costs. After the Entente Allies have put out this highly ambitious program, an announcement of the firm and moderate German terms of peace would by contrast probably be interpreted by our adversaries as an indication of weakness, and would be used by them to encourage their people to fight on. Our people would not understand any further effort by us for the introduction of peace after the Entente's declaration. We have to consider public opinion here."

Dr. Zimmermann said that obviously he could discern the advantages from one point of view in stating Germany's

terms and letting the world see by contrast with those to which the Entente Powers have committed themselves the real state of affairs, but he seemed to be convinced that such advantages were not sufficient to affect the attitude of the Entente Powers or to outweigh the effect on opinion in enemy countries of the announcement of the terms regarding Belgium and other nations in this war.

To the question as to whether he saw the possibility of Germany's making such a declaration of her intentions, should a further inquiry be made from the neutral side, for example, by President Wilson, the Minister replied critically:

"But will he make such an inquiry after the Entente reply, which in its nature is, shall we say, insulting?"

"Do you think that after an interval there will be any possibility of an offer of mediation for peace being accepted by both sides?" the Minister was asked.

"Yes," he replied. "The desire for peace of all the peoples (peoples, mind you, I say, not Governments) is so strong that after the Entente has had another try with a new offensive, after it has seen the fruitlessness of all the endeavors to crush the military strength of the Central Powers, there may be a better possibility of negotiating a satisfactory and reasonable peace."

"Of course, if the Entente Powers persist in trying to execute their program, the war must be fought out to the bitter end. There is not a German who would not rather die than see the accomplishment of the announced intention of the Entente Powers with respect to Germany—see German provinces with predominant German populations torn from the German Empire, and united Germany, which our fathers so labored to achieve, torn asunder and the country reduced, as the Allies have plainly announced as their ambition, to a condition of subjection to rival great powers of Europe."

"The conditions for Austria-Hungary are even more difficult. Its dismemberment to satisfy the passion for territorial aggrandizement of Russia, Italy, Serbia, and Rumania would leave the State not even a third-rate power, while

who can say what would be the fate of the 'redeemed small nationalities' when brought under the sway of Russia! Bulgaria, of course, would be bitterly punished, and Turkey would practically cease to exist if the plans contemplated in the Entente's answer were attained.

"The Entente tries to justify its aims of conquest by what it calls liberation, instead of pillaging. Charity begins at home. Why does not England give a practical example of her idea of liberty by setting Ireland free?"

#### Germany Solidified

Within a week after the Entente's reply and the Emperors' proclamation, German public opinion had crystallized, and it seemed everywhere evident that the door to peace had been closed for the present. Moreover, the attitude of the Allies had the further effect of solidifying the German people in the determination to make gigantic efforts toward a final decisive victory in the field.

The German newspapers began printing daily columns of letters addressed to the Kaiser, in which societies, cities, Chambers of Commerce, labor unions, and similar bodies thanked him for the sentiment expressed in his address "to the German people" and assured him that every woman and child in Germany was ready to sacrifice the last drop of blood and the last penny "to compel the warmaddened lawyers who run the Entente nations to make peace."

The Hansabund for Trade, Commerce, and Industry telegraphed to the Kaiser that the classes represented in its organization "stand resolutely indomitable behind your Majesty in face of the Entente's encircling policy before the war, the campaign of slander and lies during the war, now followed up by the shameless confession of the Entente's intention to annihilate Germany and her allies. This threat must be met by an energetic application of all and every arm at our disposal with iron determination. We shall not rest one minute unless the victorious end is achieved. Such is the answer of the German people to your Majesty's call to the German people."

The central organization of German bankers telegraphed to the Kaiser that

"in view of the enemy's frivolous war aims as exposed in the Entente's note," their organizations were ready for any sacrifice. The League of Agrarians threatened the Entente with "the holy wrath of the German people," which desired an even more intensified war. The Trade Chambers of Berlin promised the Kaiser that their last man and their smallest workshop would be at the Fatherland's disposal.

Frankfort's Chamber of Commerce declared that every thought of peace must now be suppressed.

The Associated Press correspondent at Berlin on Jan. 16 telegraphed that the pronunciamento of the Allies, together with earlier interchanges of opinion on the peace proposals, might be regarded as having virtually eliminated the peace party in Germany, except for a small minority of dissident Socialists, some of whose newspaper organs still saw the possibility of continuing the discussions after the Entente's reply.

The large and influential section, including a majority of the Socialists and powerful influences among non-Socialists, which up to last month was bringing the heaviest pressure to bear on the Government to take steps for the opening of negotiations for peace, based on an understanding, had now become convinced that such negotiations were impossible.

Regarding the possibility that Germany would make a statement of terms, the announcement of Dr. Alfred Zimmermann, the Foreign Secretary, indicated that this was now out of the question, and the Government apparently had adopted this as a definite decision. For some reason, however, there was an impression which would not down that the Government might perhaps reconsider and make some announcement of its peace program, particularly in regard to Belgium.

The specific reference by Foreign Minister Balfour to Alsace and Lorraine—also to "Italia Irredenta" and the expulsion of the Turks from Europe—as the price of peace in his note of Jan. 13 further inflamed German sentiment and dispelled all hopes of peace at present.

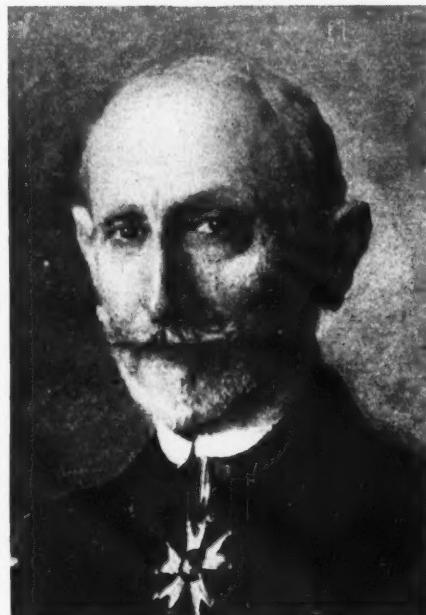
MAKERS OF WAR HISTORY IN FRANCE



Albert Thomas  
Minister of Munitions



General Nivelle  
Commander in the Field

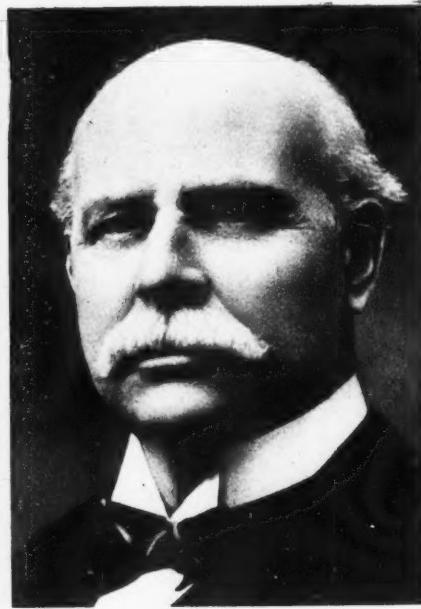


Rear Admiral Lacaze  
Minister of Marine



Rene Viviani  
Ex-Premier, Minister of  
Justice

SOME OF LLOYD GEORGE'S ASSOCIATES



Baron Devonport  
British Food Controller



Lord Robert Cecil  
Minister of Blockade



Lord Wimborne  
Lord Lieutenant of Ireland



Sir Henry E. Duke  
Secretary for Ireland

## Text of Reply of Central Powers to President Wilson's Peace Note

GERMANY and her ally, Austria-Hungary, were the first of the belligerents to reply to the note sent by President Wilson—under date of Dec. 18—to all the belligerent and neutral powers, in which the warring nations were asked to state the terms which they would consider a sound basis for peace when their aims had been attained. The official text of the German Government's reply was handed to the American Ambassador at Berlin on Dec. 26, and was made public the same day at Washington by Secretary Lansing. It is as follows:

*Foreign Office.*

Berlin, Dec. 26, 1916.

*With reference to the esteemed communication of Dec. 21, Foreign Office, No. 15,118, the undersigned has the honor to reply as follows:*

*To his Excellency, the Ambassador of the United States of America, James W. Gerard:*

The Imperial Government has accepted and considered in the friendly spirit which is apparent in the communication of the President, the noble initiative of the President looking to the creation of bases for the foundation of a lasting peace. The President discloses the aim which lies nearest his heart and leaves the choice of the way open.

A direct exchange of views appears to the Imperial Government as the most suitable way of arriving at the desired result. The Imperial Government has the honor, therefore, in the sense of its declaration of the twelfth instant, which offered the hand for peace negotiations, to propose the speedy assembly, on neutral ground, of delegates of the warring States.

It is also the view of the Imperial Government that the great work for the prevention of future wars can first be taken up only after the ending of the present conflict of exhaustion. The Imperial Government is ready, when this point has been reached, to co-operate with the United States at this sublime task.

The undersigned, while permitting himself

to have recourse to the good offices of his Excellency the Ambassador in connection with the transmission of the above reply to the President of the United States, avails himself of this opportunity to renew the assurances of his highest consideration.

ZIMMERMAN.

### *Reply of Austria-Hungary*

The Austrian Government's reply, which also arrived on Dec. 26, took the form of a memorandum delivered to Ambassador Penfield at Vienna, and was given out by Mr. Lansing as follows:

*Aide Memoire: In reply to the aide memoire communicated on the 22d instant by his Excellency the American Ambassador containing the proposals of the President of the United States of America for an exchange of views among the powers at present at war for the eventual establishment of peace, the Imperial and Royal Government desires particularly to point out that in considering the noble proposal of the President it is guided by the same spirit of amity and complaisance as finds expression therein.*

The President desires to establish a basis for a lasting peace without wishing to indicate the ways and means. The Imperial and Royal Government considers a direct exchange of views among the belligerents to be the most suitable way of attaining this end. Adverting to its declaration of the 12th instant, in which it announced its readiness to enter into peace negotiations, it now has the honor to propose that representatives of the belligerent powers convene at an early date at some place on neutral ground.

The Imperial and Royal Government likewise concurs in the opinion of the President that only after the termination of the present war will it be possible to undertake the great and desirable work of the prevention of future wars. At an appropriate time it will be willing to co-operate with the United States of America for the realization of this noble aim.

Turkey's reply to President Wilson's note was received at the State Department on Dec. 29. It is substantially the same as Germany's and Austria's.

## Text of Entente Allies' Reply to President

THE reply of the Allies to President Wilson's note was written at Paris and received the indorsement of the ten Governments concerned. It was

handed to Ambassador Sharp on Jan. 10, and the translation of the French text was cabled to Secretary Lansing, (Telegram No. 1,806.) Following is the full

official text, in which have been incorporated various improvements of translation taken from the London version of the same document:

Paris, Jan. 10, 1917.

The allied Governments have received the note which was delivered to them in the name of the Government of the United States on the 19th of December 1916. They have studied it with the care imposed upon them both by the exact realization which they have of the gravity of the hour and by the sincere friendship which attaches them to the American people.

In a general way they desire to declare their respect for the lofty sentiments inspiring the American note, and their whole-hearted agreement with the proposal to create a league of nations which shall assure peace and justice throughout the world. They recognize all the benefits which will accrue to the cause of humanity and civilization from the institution of international arrangements designed to prevent violent conflicts between nations and so framed as to provide the sanctions necessary to their enforcement, lest an illusory security should serve merely to facilitate fresh acts of aggression.

But a discussion of future arrangements for assuring a durable peace presupposes a satisfactory settlement of the present conflict. The Allies have as profound a desire as the Government of the United States to terminate as soon as possible a war for which the Central Empires are responsible and which inflicts such cruel sufferings upon humanity. But in their judgment it is impossible to obtain at this moment such a peace as will not only secure to them the reparation, the restitution, and the guarantees justly due them by reason of the act of aggression, the guilt of which is fixed upon the Central Powers, while the very principle from which it sprang was undermining the safety of Europe; and at the same time such a peace as will enable future European nations to be established upon a sure foundation. The allied nations are conscious that they are not fighting for selfish interests, but, above all, to safeguard the independence of peoples, of right, and of humanity.

The Allies are fully aware of the losses and suffering which the war causes to neutrals as well as to belligerents, and they deplore them, but they do not hold themselves responsible for them, having in no way either willed or provoked this war; and they strive to reduce these damages in the measure compatible with the inexorable exigencies of their defense against the violence and the wiles of the enemy.

It is with satisfaction, therefore, that they take note of the declaration that the American communication is in nowise associated in its origin with that of the Central Powers transmitted on the 18th of December by the Government of the United States. They did not doubt, moreover, the resolution of that Government to avoid even the appearance of

a support, even moral, of the authors responsible for the war.

The allied Governments feel it their duty to challenge in the most friendly but also in the clearest way the analogy drawn between the two groups of belligerents. This analogy, based on public declarations of the Central Powers, is in direct conflict with the evidence, both as regards responsibility for the past and guarantees for the future. President Wilson in alluding to this analogy did not, of course, intend to adopt it as his own.

If there is a historical fact established at the present date, it is the willful aggression of Germany and Austria-Hungary to insure their hegemony over Europe and their economic domination over the world. By her declaration of war, by the instant violation of Belgium and Luxemburg, and by her methods of warfare, Germany has proved that she systematically scorns every principle of humanity and all respect due to small States. More and more, as the struggle has progressed, has the attitude of the Central Powers and their allies been a constant challenge to humanity and civilization.

Is it necessary to recall the horrors that marked the invasion of Belgium and of Serbia, the atrocious régime imposed upon the invaded countries, the massacres of hundreds of thousands of inoffensive Armenians, the barbarities perpetrated against the populations of Syria, the raids of Zeppelins on open towns, the destruction by submarines of passenger steamers and of merchantmen even under neutral flags, the cruel treatment inflicted upon prisoners of war, the judicial murders of Miss Cavell and Captain Fryatt, the deportation and the reduction to slavery of civil populations, et cetera? The execution of such a series of crimes, perpetrated without any regard for universal reprobation, fully explains to President Wilson the protest of the Allies.

They consider that the note which they sent to the United States in reply to the German note will be a response to the questions put by the American Government, and, according to the exact words of the latter, "constitute a public declaration as to the conditions upon which the war could be terminated."

President Wilson desires more: he desires that the belligerent powers openly affirm the objects which they seek by continuing the war; the Allies experience no difficulty in replying to this request. Their objects in the war are well known; they have been formulated on many occasions by the chiefs of their diverse Governments. Their objects will not be made known in detail with all the equitable compensation and indemnities for damages suffered until the hour of negotiations. But the civilized world knows that they imply, in all necessity and in the first instance, the restoration of Belgium, of Serbia, and of Montenegro, and the indemnities which are due them; the evacuation of the invaded ter-

ritories of France, of Russia, and of Rumania, with just reparation; the reorganization of Europe, guaranteed by a stable settlement, based alike upon the principle of nationalities, on the right which all peoples, whether small or great, have to the enjoyment of full security and free economic development, and also upon territorial agreements and international arrangements so framed as to guarantee land and sea frontiers against unjustified attacks; the restitution of provinces or territories wrested in the past from the Allies by force or against the will of their populations; the liberation of Italians, of Slavs, of Rumanians, and of Tcheco-Slovaques from foreign domination; the enfranchisement of populations subject to the bloody tyranny of the Turks; the expulsion from Europe of the Ottoman Empire, decidedly alien to Western civilization. The intentions of his Majesty, the Emperor of Russia, regarding Poland, have been clearly indicated

in the proclamation which he has just addressed to his armies.

It goes without saying that if the Allies wish to liberate Europe from the brutal covetousness of Prussian militarism it never has been their design, as has been alleged, to encompass the extermination of the German peoples and their political disappearance. That which they desire above all is to insure a peace upon the principles of liberty and justice, upon the inviolable fidelity to international obligations with which the Government of the United States has never ceased to be inspired.

United in the pursuit of this supreme object, the Allies are determined, individually and collectively, to act with all their power and to consent to all sacrifices to bring to a victorious close a conflict upon which, they are convinced, not only their own safety and prosperity depend, but also the future of civilization itself.

## Official Text of the Entente Reply

**T**HE following is the official text of the reply of the Entente Allies in the original French as received by the State Department:

### *Réponse des gouvernements alliés à la note américaine du 19 décembre 1916.*

1. Les Gouvernements alliés ont reçu la note qui leur a été remise le dix-neuf décembre 1916 au nom du Gouvernement des Etats-Unis. Ils l'ont étudiée avec le soin que leur commandaient à la fois l'exact sentiment qu'ils ont de la gravité de l'heure et la sincère amitié qui les rattache au peuple américain.

2. D'une manière générale ils tiennent à déclarer qu'ils rendent hommage à l'élévation des sentiments dont s'inspire la note américaine et qu'ils s'associent de tous leurs voeux au projet de création d'une ligue des nations pour assurer la paix et la justice à travers le monde. Ils reconnaissent tous les avantages que présentera, pour la cause de l'humanité et de la civilisation, l'institution de règlements internationaux destinés à éviter des conflits violents entre les nations, règlements qui devraient comporter les sanctions nécessaires pour en assurer l'exécution et empêcher ainsi qu'une sécurité apparente ne serve qu'à faciliter de nouvelles agressions.

3. Mais une discussion sur les arrangements futurs destinés à assurer une paix durable suppose d'abord un règlement satisfaisant du conflit actuel. Les Alliés éprouvent un désir aussi profond que le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis de voir se terminer, le plus tôt possible, la guerre dont les empires centraux sont responsables et qui inflige à l'humanité de si cruelles souffrances. Mais ils estiment qu'il est impossible, dès aujourd'hui, de réaliser

une paix qui leur assure les réparations, les restitutions et les garanties auxquelles leur donne droit l'agression dont la responsabilité incombe aux Puissances centrales et dont le principe même tendait à ruiner la sécurité de l'Europe, une paix qui permette, d'autre part, d'établir sur une base solide l'avenir des nations européennes. Les nations alliées ont conscience qu'elles ne combattent pas pour des intérêts égoïstes, mais avant tout pour la sauvegarde de l'indépendance des peuples, du droit et de l'humanité.

4. Les Alliés se rendent pleinement compte des pertes et des souffrances que la guerre fait supporter aux neutres comme aux belligérants, et ils les déplorent; mais ils ne s'en tiennent pas pour responsables, n'ayant en aucune façon ni voulu ni provoqué cette guerre, et ils s'efforcent de réduire ces dommages dans toute la mesure compatible avec les exigences inexorables de leur défense contre les violences et les pièges de l'ennemi.

5. C'est avec satisfaction, dès lors, qu'ils prennent acte de la déclaration faite que la communication américaine n'est associée d'aucune manière dans son origine avec celle des Puissances centrales transmise le 18 décembre par le Gouvernement de l'Union. Ils ne doutaient pas, au surplus, de la résolution de ce Gouvernement d'éviter jusqu'à l'apparence d'un appui même moral, accordé aux auteurs responsables de la guerre.

6. Les Gouvernements alliés croient devoir s'élever, de la manière la plus amicale mais la plus nette, contre l'assimilation établie dans la note américaine entre les deux groupes des belligérants; cette assimilation, basée sur des déclarations publiques des Puissances centrales, est en opposition directe avec l'évidence, tant en ce qui concerne les responsabilités du passé qu'en ce qui concerne les garanties de l'avenir; le Président Wilson

en la mentionnant n'a certainement pas entendu s'y associer.

7. S'il y a un fait historique établi à l'heure actuelle, c'est la volonté d'agression de l'Allemagne et de l'Autriche-Hongrie pour assurer leur hégémonie sur l'Europe et leur domination économique sur le monde. L'Allemagne a, par la déclaration de guerre, par la violation de la Belgique et du Luxembourg, et par la façon dont elle a conduit la lutte, manifesté son mépris de tout principe d'humanité et de tout respect pour les petits états; à mesure que le conflit a évolué l'attitude des Puissances centrales et de leurs alliés a été un continual défi à l'humanité et à la civilisation. Faut-il rappeler les horreurs qui ont accompagné l'invasion de la Belgique et de la Serbie, le régime atroce imposé aux pays envahis, le massacre des centaines de milliers d'Arméniens inoffensifs, les barbaries exercées contre les populations de Syrie, les raids des Zeppelins sur les villes ouvertes, la destruction par les sous-marins de paquebots et de navires marchands, même sous pavillon neutre, le cruel traitement infligé aux prisonniers de guerre, les meurtres juridiques de Miss Cavell et du Capitaine Fryatt, la déportation et la réduction en esclavage des populations civiles, etc.

L'exécution d'une pareille série de crimes, perpétrés sans aucun souci de la réprobation universelle, explique amplement au Président Wilson la protestation des Alliés.

8. Ils estiment que la note qu'ils ont remise aux Etats-Unis, en réplique à la note allemande, répond à la question posée par le Gouvernement américain et constitue, suivant les propres expressions de ce dernier, "une déclaration publique quant aux conditions auxquelles la guerre pourrait être terminée."

9. M. Wilson souhaite davantage. Il désire que les Puissances belligérantes affirment, en pleine lumière, les buts qu'elles se proposent en poursuivant la guerre; les Alliés n'éprouvent aucune difficulté à répondre à cette demande. Leurs buts de guerre sont bien connus: ils ont été formulés à plusieurs reprises par les chefs de leurs divers Gouvernements. Ces buts de guerre ne seront exposés dans le détail, avec toutes les compensations et indemnités équitables pour les

dommages subis, qu'à l'heure des négociations. Mais le monde civilisé sait qu'ils impliquent, de toute nécessité et en première ligne, la restauration de la Belgique, de la Serbie et du Monténégro et les dédommagements qui leur sont dus; l'évacuation des territoires envahis en France, en Russie, en Roumanie, avec de justes réparations; la réorganisation de l'Europe, garantie par un régime stable et fondée à la fois sur le respect des nationalités et sur les droits à la pleine sécurité et à la liberté de développement économique que possèdent tous les peuples, petits et grands, et en même temps sur des conventions territoriales et des règlements internationaux propres à garantir les frontières terrestres et maritimes contre des attaques injustifiées; la restitution des provinces ou territoires autrefois arrachés aux Alliés par la force ou contre le voeu des populations; la libération des Italiens, des Slaves, des Roumains et des Tcheco-Slovaques, de la domination étrangère; l'affranchissement des populations soumises à la sanglante tyrannie des Turcs; le rejet hors d'Europe de l'Empire ottoman, décidément étranger à la civilisation occidentale.

Les intentions de Sa Majesté l'Empereur de Russie à l'égard de la Pologne ont été clairement indiquées par la proclamation qu'il vient d'adresser à ses armées.

10. Il va sans dire que si les Alliés veulent soustraire l'Europe aux convoitises brutales du militarisme prussien, il n'a jamais été dans leurs dessins de poursuivre, comme on l'a prétendu, l'extermination des peuples allemands et leur disparition politique. Ce qu'ils veulent avant tout, c'est assurer la paix sur les principes de liberté et de justice, sur la fidélité inviolable aux obligations internationales dont n'a cessé de s'inspirer le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis.

11. Unis dans la poursuite de ce but supérieur, les Alliés sont déterminés, chacun, et solidiairement, à agir de tout leur pouvoir et à consentir tous les sacrifices pour mener à une fin victorieuse un conflit dont ils sont convaincus que dépendent non seulement leur propre salut et leur prospérité, mais l'avenir de la civilisation même.

Paris, le 10 janvier 1917.

## Great Britain's Note Amplifying the Entente Reply

SIR CECIL SPRING-RICE, the British Ambassador at Washington, presented to the State Department on Jan. 17 the following note supplementing the Entente reply of Jan. 10. It is the first important public utterance of Arthur J. Balfour in his new rôle of British Foreign Minister:

London, Jan. 13, 1917.  
His Excellency the Right Honorable Sir  
Cecil Spring-Rice:

In sending you a translation of the allied note I desire to make the following observations, which you should bring to the notice of the United States Government:

I gather from the general tenor of the President's note that, while he is animated by an intense desire that peace should come

soon and that when it comes it should be lasting, he does not, for the moment at least, concern himself with the terms on which it should be arranged. His Majesty's Government entirely share the President's ideas; but they feel strongly that the durability of peace must largely depend on its character and that no stable system of international relations can be built on foundations which are essentially and hopelessly defective.

This becomes clearly apparent if we consider the main conditions which rendered possible the calamities from which the world is now suffering. These were the existence of great powers consumed with the lust of domination in the midst of a community of nations ill-prepared for defense, plentifully supplied, indeed, with international laws, but with no machinery for enforcing them, and weakened by the fact that neither the boundaries of the various States nor their internal constitution harmonized with the aspirations of their constituent races or secured to them just and equal treatment.

That this last evil would be greatly mitigated if the Allies secured the changes in the map of Europe outlined in their joint note is manifest, and I need not labor the point.

It has been argued, indeed, that the expulsion of the Turks from Europe forms no proper or logical part of this general scheme. The maintenance of the Turkish Empire was, during many generations, regarded by statesmen of worldwide authority as essential to the maintenance of European peace. Why, it is asked, should the cause of peace be now associated with a complete reversal of this traditional policy?

The answer is that circumstances have completely changed. It is unnecessary to consider now whether the creation of a reformed Turkey, mediating between hostile races in the Near East, was a scheme which, had the Sultan been sincere and the powers united, could ever have been realized. It certainly cannot be realized now. The Turkey of "Union and Progress" is at least as barbarous and is far more aggressive than the Turkey of Sultan Abdul Hamid. In the hands of Germany it has ceased even in appearance to be a bulwark of peace, and is openly used as an instrument of conquest. Under German officers Turkish soldiers are now fighting in lands from which they had long been expelled, and a Turkish Government controlled, subsidized, and supported by Germany has been guilty of massacres in Armenia and Syria more horrible than any recorded in the history even of those unhappy countries. Evidently the interests of peace and the claims of nationality alike require that Turkish rule over alien races shall, if possible, be brought to an end, and we may hope that the expulsion of Turkey from Europe will contribute as much to the cause of peace as the restoration of Alsace-Lorraine to France, or Italia Irredenta to Italy, or

any of the territorial changes indicated in the allied note.

Evidently, however, such territorial rearrangements, though they may diminish the occasions of war, provide no sufficient security against its recurrence. If Germany, or rather those in Germany who mold its opinions and control its destinies, again set out to domineer the world, they may find that by the new order of things the adventure is made more difficult, but hardly that it is made impossible. They may still have ready to their hand a political system organized through and through on a military basis; they may still accumulate vast stores of military equipment; they may still persist in their methods of attack, so that their more pacific neighbors will be struck down before they can prepare themselves for defense. If so, Europe, when the war is over, will be far poorer in men, in money, and in mutual goodwill than it was when the war began, but it will not be safer; and the hopes for the future of the world entertained by the President will be as far as ever from fulfillment.

There are those who think that for this disease international treaties and international laws may provide a sufficient cure. But such persons have ill-learned the lessons so clearly taught by recent history. While other nations, notably the United States of America and Britain, were striving by treaties of arbitration to make sure that no chance quarrel should mar the peace they desired to make perpetual, Germany stood aloof. Her historians and philosophers preached the splendors of war; power was proclaimed as the true end of the State, and the General Staff forged with untiring industry the weapons by which at the appointed moment power might be achieved. These facts proved clearly enough that treaty arrangements for maintaining peace were not likely to find much favor at Berlin; they did not prove that such treaties, once made, would be utterly ineffectual. This became evident only when war had broken out, though the sought demonstration, when it came, was overwhelming. So long as Germany remains the Germany which, without a shadow of justification, overran and barbarously ill-treated a country it was pledged to defend, no State can regard its rights as secure if they have no better protection than a solemn treaty.

The case is made worse by the reflection that these methods of calculated brutality were designed by the Central Powers, not merely to crush to the dust those with whom they were at war, but to intimidate those with whom they were still at peace. Belgium was not only a victim, it was an example. Neutrals were intended to note the outrages which accompanied its conquest, the reign of terror which followed on its occupation, the deportation of a portion of its population, the cruel oppression of the remainder. And,

lest the nations happily protected, either by British fleets or by their own from German armies, should suppose themselves safe from German methods, the submarine has (within its limits) assiduously imitated the barbarous practices of the sister service. The war staffs of the Central Powers are well content to horrify the world if at the same time they can terrorize it.

If, then, the Central Powers succeed, it will be to methods like these that they will owe their success. How can any reform of international relations be based on a peace thus obtained? Such a peace would represent the triumph of all the forces which make war certain and make it brutal. It would advertise the futility of all the methods on which civilization relies to eliminate the occasions of international dispute and to mitigate their ferocity. Germany and Austria made the present war inevitable by attacking the rights of one small State, and they gained their initial triumphs by violating the treaty guarantees of the territories of another. Are small States going to find in them their protectors or in treaties made by them a bulwark against aggression? Terrorism by land and sea will have proved itself the instrument of victory. Are the victors likely to abandon it on the appeal of neutrals? If existing treaties are no more than scraps of paper, can fresh treaties help us? If they be crowned with success, will it not be in vain that the assembled nations labor to improve their code? None will profit by their rules but powers who break them. It is those who keep them that will suffer.

Though, therefore, the people of this coun-

try share to the full the desire of the President for peace, they do not believe peace can be durable if it be not based on the success of the allied cause. For a durable peace can hardly be expected unless three conditions are fulfilled: The first is that existing causes of international unrest should be as far as possible removed or weakened; the second is that the aggressive aims and the unscrupulous methods of the Central Powers should fall into disrepute among their own peoples; the third is that behind international law and behind all treaty arrangements for preventing or limiting hostilities some form of international sanction should be devised which would give pause to the hardiest aggressor.

These conditions may be difficult of fulfillment. But we believe them to be in general harmony with the President's ideas, and we are confident that none of them can be satisfied, even imperfectly, unless peace be secured on the general lines indicated (so far as Europe is concerned) in the joint note. Therefore it is that this country has made, is making, and is prepared to make sacrifices of blood and treasure unparalleled in its history. It bears these heavy burdens, not merely that it may thus fulfill its treaty obligations, nor yet that it may secure a barren triumph of one group of nations over another. It bears them because it firmly believes that on the success of the Allies depend the prospects of peaceful civilization and of those international reforms which the best thinkers of the New World, as of the Old, dare to hope may follow on the cessation of our present calamities.

ARTHUR J. BALFOUR.

## Belgium's Separate Reply to the President

**T**HE separate answer of Belgium to President Wilson's note was transmitted from Paris by Ambassador Sharp to the Secretary of State in the following translation:

Paris, Jan. 10, 1917.

The Government of the King, which has associated itself with the answer handed by the President of the French Council to the American Ambassador on behalf of all, is particularly desirous of paying tribute to the sentiment of humanity which prompted the President of the United States to send his note to the belligerent powers, and it highly esteems the friendship expressed for Belgium through his kindly intermediation. It desires as much as Mr. Woodrow Wilson to see the present war ended as early as possible.

But the President seems to believe that the statesmen of the two opposing camps pursue the same object of war. The example of Belgium unfortunately demonstrates that this is in no wise the fact. Belgium has never, like the

Central Powers, aimed at conquest. The barbarous fashion in which the German Government has treated, and is still treating, the Belgian Nation does not permit the supposition that Germany will preoccupy herself with guaranteeing in the future the rights of the weak nations, which she has not ceased to trample under foot since the war, let loose by her, began to desolate Europe.

On the other hand, the Government of the King has noted with pleasure and with confidence the assurance that the United States is impatient to co-operate in the measures which will be taken after the conclusion of peace to protect and guarantee the small nations against violence and oppression.

Previous to the German ultimatum, Belgium only aspired to live upon good terms with all her neighbors. She practiced with scrupulous loyalty toward each one of them the duties imposed by her neutrality. In the same manner she has been rewarded by Germany for the confidence she placed in her, through which, from one day to the other, without

any plausible reason, her neutrality was violated, and the Chancellor of the Empire, when announcing to the Reichstag this violation of right and of treaties, was obliged to recognize the iniquity of such an act and pre-determine that it would be repaired.

But the Germans, after the occupation of Belgian territory, have displayed no better observance of the rules of international law or the stipulations of The Hague Convention. They have, by taxation as heavy as it is arbitrary, drained the resources of the country; they have intentionally ruined its industries, destroyed whole cities, put to death and imprisoned a considerable number of inhabitants. Even now, while they are loudly proclaiming their desire to put an end to the horrors of war, they increase the rigors of the occupation by deporting into servitude Belgian workers by the thousands.

If there is a country which has the right to say that it has taken up arms to defend its existence, it is assuredly Belgium. Compelled to fight or to submit to shame, she passionately desires that an end be brought to the unprecedented sufferings of her population. But she could only accept a peace which would assure her, as well as equitable reparation, security and guarantees for the future.

The American people, since the beginning of

the war, has manifested for the oppressed Belgian Nation most ardent sympathy. It is an American committee, the Commission for Relief in Belgium, which, in close union with the Government of the King and the National Committee, displays an untiring devotion and marvelous activity in reviving Belgium. The Government of the King is happy to avail itself of this opportunity to express its profound gratitude to the Commission for Relief as well as to the generous Americans eager to relieve the misery of the Belgian population. Finally, nowhere more than in the United States have the abductions and deportations of Belgian civilians provoked such a spontaneous movement of protestation and indignant reproof.

These facts, entirely to the honor of the American Nation, allow the Government of the King to entertain the legitimate hope that at the time of the definitive settlement of this long war, the voice of the Entente Powers will find in the United States a unanimous echo to claim in favor of the Belgian Nation, innocent victim of German ambition and covetousness, the rank and the place which its irreproachable past, the valor of its soldiers, its fidelity to honor, and its remarkable faculties for work assign to it among the civilized nations.

## Germany's Retort to the Entente in a Separate Note to Neutrals

ON Jan. 11, the day after the Entente reply to President Wilson was made public, the German Foreign Office handed to the neutral Ambassadors at Berlin a communication acknowledging receipt of the Entente note of Dec. 12, (which had rejected Germany's peace proposal,) and continuing in a virtual reply to the Entente note to President Wilson, as follows:

Our adversaries declined this proposition, giving as the reason that it is a proposition without sincerity and without importance. The form in which they clothe their communication excludes an answer to them, but the Imperial Government considers it important to point out to the Governments of neutral powers its opinion regarding the situation.

The Central Powers have no reason to enter into any discussion regarding the origin of the world war. History will judge upon whom the immense guilt of the war shall fall. History's verdict will as little pass over the encircling policy of England, the revengeful policy of France, and the endeavor of Russia to gain Constantinople as over the instigation of the Serbian assassination in

Serajevo and the complete mobilization of Russia, which meant war against Germany.

Germany and her allies, who had to take up arms for defense of their liberty and their existence, consider this, their aim of war, as obtained.

On the other hand, the hostile powers always went further away from the realization of their plans, which, according to the declarations of their responsible statesmen, were, among others, directed toward the conquest of Alsace-Lorraine and several Prussian provinces, the humiliation and diminution of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, the partition of Turkey, and the mutilation of Bulgaria. In the face of such war aims, the demand for restitution, reparation, and guarantee in the mouth of our adversaries produces a surprising effect.

Our adversaries call the proposal of the four allied (Teutonic) powers a war manoeuvre. Germany and her allies must protest in the most energetic fashion against such a characterization of their motives, which were frankly explained. They were persuaded that a peace which was just and acceptable to all the belligerents was possible; that it could be brought about by an immediate spoken exchange of views, and that therefore the responsibility for further bloodshed could not be

taken. Their readiness was affirmed without reservation to make known their peace conditions when negotiations were entered into, which refutes every doubt as to their sincerity.

Our adversaries, who had it in their hands to examine the proposition as to its contents, neither attempted an examination nor made counterproposals. Instead, they declared that peace was impossible so long as the re-establishment of violated rights and liberties, the recognition of the principle of nationalities, and the free existence of small States were not guaranteed.

The sincerity which our adversary denies to the proposals of the four allied powers will not be conceded by the world to these demands, if the world holds before its eyes the fate of the Irish people, the destruction of the liberty and independence of the Boer Republic, the subjugation of Northern Africa by England, France, and Italy, the suppression of Russian alien nations, and also the violation of Greece, which is without precedent in history.

Against the pretended violations of the laws of nations by the four allies, (Teutonic,) those powers are not entitled to complain, which from the beginning of the war trampled on justice and tore to pieces the treaties upon which it is built. England already during the first weeks of the war had repudiated the London Declaration, the content of which had been recognized by its own delegates as a valid law of nations, and in the further course of the war violated in the most severe fashion also the Paris Declaration, so that, by her arbitrary measures for warfare, a condition of lawlessness has been created.

The war of starvation against Germany and the pressure exercised in England's interest against neutrals are not less scandalously conflicting with the rules of the laws of nations than with the commands of humanity.

Likewise, contrary to the laws of nations and incompatible with the usages of civilization are the use of colored troops in Europe and the extension of the war into Africa, which was done by a breach of existing treaties and which undermines the prestige of the white race on that continent. The barbarous treatment of prisoners, especially in Africa and Russia, and the deportation of the civilian population from Eastern Prussia, Alsace-Lorraine, Galicia, and Bukowina are further proof of how our adversaries respect justice and civilization.

At the end of their note of Dec. 30, our adversaries point out the special situation of Belgium. The Imperial Government is unable to acknowledge that the Belgian Government has always observed the duties which were enjoined upon her by her neutrality. Already before the war Belgium, under England's influence, sought support in military fashion from England and France, and thus herself violated the spirit [of the

treaty] which she had to guarantee her independence and neutrality.

Twice the Imperial Government declared to the Belgian Government that it did not come as an enemy to Belgium, and asked it to spare the country the terrors of war. Germany offered to guarantee the integrity and independence of the kingdom to the full extent and compensate for all damages which might be caused by the passage of the German troops. It is known that the Royal British Government in 1887 was resolved not to oppose the use of the right of way through Belgium under those conditions. The Belgian Government declined the repeated offer of the Imperial Government. Upon her and those powers which instigated her to this attitude falls the responsibility for the fate which befall Belgium.

The accusations about the Germans' warfare in Belgium and the measures taken there in the interest of military safety have been repeatedly refuted by the Imperial Government as untrue. Germany again offers energetic protest against these calumnies.

Germany and her allies have made an honest attempt to terminate the war and open the road for an understanding among the belligerents. The Imperial Government asserts the fact that it merely depended upon the decision of our adversaries whether the road toward peace should be entered upon or not. The hostile Governments declined to accept this road. Upon them falls the full responsibility for the continuation of the bloodshed.

Our allied powers, however, shall continue the struggle in quiet confidence and with firm trust in their right, until peace is gained which guarantees to their nations honor, existence, and liberty of development, and which to all the nations of the European Continent gives the blessing to co-operate in mutual respect and under equal rights together for the solution of the great problems of civilization.

#### *Similar Note From Austria*

The Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, Count Czernin von Chudenitz, delivered a similar note at Vienna on Jan. 12 to the diplomatic representatives of the neutral powers and the Holy See. The Austrian note lays special emphasis on the situation existing between Austria and Serbia, saying:

In the years preceding the Austro-Hungarian ultimatum to Serbia the monarchy displayed sufficient proof of its forbearance toward the ever-increasing hostility, aggressive intentions, and intrigues of Serbia until the moment when finally the notorious murders at Serajevo made further indulgences impossible.

In a later passage appears the following:

The question which side has the stronger military situation appears idle, and may confidently be left to the judgment of the world. The four allied powers now look on their purely defensive war aims as attained, while their enemies travel further and further from the realization of their plans.

For the enemy to characterize our peace proposals as meaningless before peace negotiations were begun, and so long as, therefore, our peace conditions are unknown, is

merely to make an arbitrary assertion. We had made full preparations for the acceptance of our offer to make known our peace conditions on entering into the negotiations. We declared ourselves ready to end the war by a verbal exchange of views with the enemy Governments, and it depended solely on our enemies' decision whether peace were brought about or not.

Before God and mankind we repudiate responsibility for continuance of the war.

## Replies of Neutral Nations to President Wilson's Peace Note

**N**EARLY all the neutral nations of Europe sent formal replies to President Wilson's note of Dec. 18, and all of these except Spain indicated their willingness to co-operate with the United States in a peace movement of the kind suggested.

### *Text of Swiss Note*

Switzerland was the first of all the nations to make a formal reply. The response was addressed by the Swiss Federal Council, under date of Dec. 23, 1916, to all belligerents and neutrals. The text of the note, as received by the Swiss Consul at Washington and given out by Secretary Lansing, is as follows:

The President of the United States of America, with whom the Swiss Federal Council, guided by its warm desire that the hostilities may soon come to an end, has for a considerable time been in touch, had the kindness to apprise the Federal Council of the peace note sent to the Governments of the Central and Entente Powers. In that note President Wilson discusses the great desirability of international agreements for the purpose of avoiding more effectively and permanently the occurrence of catastrophes such as the one under which the peoples are suffering today. In this connection he lays particular stress on the necessity for bringing about the end of the present war. Without making peace proposals himself or offering mediation, he confines himself to sounding as to whether mankind may hope to have approached the haven of peace.

The most meritorious personal initiative of President Wilson will find a mighty echo in Switzerland. True to the obligations arising from observing the strictest neutrality, united by the same friendship with the States of both warring groups of powers, situated like an island amid the seething waters of the terrible world war, with its ideal and mate-

rial interests most sensibly jeopardized and violated, our country is filled with a deep longing for peace, and ready to assist by its small means to stop the endless sufferings caused by the war and brought before its eyes by daily contact with the interned, the severely wounded, and those expelled, and to establish the foundations for a beneficial co-operation of the peoples.

The Swiss Federal Council is therefore glad to seize the opportunity to support the efforts of the President of the United States. It would consider itself happy if it could act in any, no matter how modest a way, for the rapprochement of the peoples now engaged in the struggle, and for reaching a lasting peace.

### *The Scandinavian Note*

Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, the three Scandinavian nations, answered in an identical note, which was handed to Secretary Lansing on Dec. 29, 1916. The text of the Norwegian version, as delivered by Minister Bryn, is here given as representative of all three:

It is with the liveliest interest that the Norwegian Government has learned of the proposals which the President of the United States has just made with the purpose of facilitating measures looking toward the establishment of a durable peace, while at the same time seeking to avoid any interference which could cause offense to legitimate sentiments.

The Norwegian Government would consider itself failing in its duties toward its own people and toward humanity if it did not express its deepest sympathy with all efforts which would contribute to put an end to the ever-increasing suffering and the moral and material losses. It has every hope that the initiative of President Wilson will arrive at a result worthy of the high purpose which inspires it.

### *Spain's Polite Refusal*

The Spanish Government replied to the

American note on Dec. 30, expressing sympathy with the President's purpose of facilitating peace, but declining at present to co-operate to that end. The official text was not given out at Washington, but the following version has come direct from Madrid by way of a London newspaper. The note is addressed to C. S. Wilson, Charge d'Affaires at the United States Embassy in Madrid:

His Majesty's Government has received through your embassy a copy of the note which the President of the United States has presented to the belligerent powers, expressing the desire that an early opportunity should be sought for obtaining from all the nations now at war a declaration as to their intentions so far as regards the bases upon which the conflict might be terminated. This copy is accompanied by another note, signed by yourself, and dated Dec. 22, in which your embassy, in accordance with the instructions of your Government, says, in the name of the President, that the moment seems to be opportune for action on the part of his Majesty's Government, and that it should, if it thinks fit, support the attitude adopted by the Government of the United States.

With regard to the reasonable desire manifested by the latter Government to be supported in its proposition in favor of peace, the Government of his Majesty, considering that the initiative has been taken by the President of the North American Republic, and that the diverse impressions which it has caused are already known, is of opinion that the action to which the United States invites Spain would not have efficacy, and the more so because the Central Empires have already expressed their firm intention to discuss the conditions of peace solely with the belligerent powers.

Fully appreciating that the noble desire of the President of the United States will always merit the gratitude of all nations, the Government of his Majesty is decided not to dissociate itself from any negotiation or agreement destined to facilitate the humanitarian work which will put an end to the present war, but it suspends its action, reserving it for the moment when the efforts of all those who desire peace will be more useful and efficacious than is now the case, if there should then be reasons to consider that its initiative or its intervention would be profitable.

Until that moment arrives the Government of his Majesty regards it as opportune to declare that in all that concerns an understanding between the neutral powers for the defense of their material interests affected by the war, it is disposed now, as it has been since the beginning of the present conflict, to enter into negotiations which may tend toward an agreement capable of uniting all the nonbelligerent powers which may consider

themselves injured or may regard it as necessary to remedy or diminish such injuries.

#### *The Greek King's Reply*

King Constantine of Greece summoned the American Minister, Garrett Dropper, to his palace in Athens on Dec. 30 and communicated to him the text of a message to President Wilson, the press version of which is as follows:

I wish to express, Mr. President, feelings of sincere admiration and lively sympathy for the generous initiative you have just taken with the view to ascertaining whether the moment is not propitious for a negotiable end of the bloody struggle raging on earth.

Coming from the wise statesman who, in a period so critical for humanity, is placed at the head of the great American Republic, this humanitarian effort, dictated by a spirit of high political sagacity and looking to an honorable peace for all, cannot but contribute greatly toward hastening re-establishment of normal life and assuring through a stable state of international relations the evolution of humanity toward that progress wherein the United States of America always so largely shares.

[There follows a recital of the trials Greece has suffered from the war, which, on account of the censorship, it is useless to attempt to cable. The King's message ends as follows:]

Such are the conditions in which your proposals find my country. This short and necessarily incomplete recital is not made with the purpose of criticism of the cruel blows at her sovereignty and neutrality from which Greece has been forced to suffer the effects. I have merely wished to show you, Mr. President, how much the soul of Greece at this moment longs for peace, and how much it appreciates your proposals, which constitute so important a step in the course of the bloody world tragedy of which we are witnesses.

CONSTANTINE.

A formal note from the Greek Government to the same effect was handed to the State Department at Washington on Jan. 16. It said in part:

The Royal Government learns with the most lively interest of the steps which the President of the United States of America has just undertaken among the belligerents for the cessation of a long and cruel war which is ravishing humanity. Very sensitive to the communication made to it, the Royal Government deeply appreciates the generous courage as well as the extremely humanitarian and profoundly politic spirit which dictated that suggestion. The considerations given in it to the subject of the sufferings of neutral nations as a result of the colossal struggle, as well as guarantees which will be equally desired by both belligerent factions for the rights and privileges of all States, have particularly found a sympathetic echo in the soul

of Greece. In fact, there is no country which, like Greece, has had to suffer from this war, while at the same time remaining a stranger to it.

Through circumstances exceptionally tragic, she has less than other neutral countries been able to escape a direct and pernicious effect from the hostilities between the belligerents. Her geographical position contributed toward diminishing her power of resistance against violations of her neutrality and sovereignty, which she has been forced to submit to in the interest of self-preservation.

The Royal Government would certainly have made all haste to accede to the noble demand of the President of the United States of America, to help with all means in its power until success were achieved, if it were not entirely out of communication with one of the two belligerents, while toward the other it must await the solution of difficulties which seriously weigh upon the situation in Greece. But the Royal Government is following with all the intensity of its soul the precious effort of the President of the United States of America, hoping to see it completed at the earliest possible moment.

#### *China Favors Peace League*

The Chinese Government, in a note sent through the American Minister at Peking on Jan. 11, indicated its readiness to co-operate after the war in a league to insure peace. The note was written by the Chinese Minister of Foreign Affairs and is addressed to the American Minister. The text follows:

I have examined, with the care which the gravity of the questions raised demands, the note concerning peace which President Wilson has addressed to the Governments of the Allies and the Central Powers now at war, and the text of which your Excellency has been good enough to transmit to me under instructions of your Government.

China, a nation traditionally pacific, has recently again manifested her sentiments in concluding treaties concerning the pacific settlement of international disputes, respond-

ing thus to the wishes of the peace conference held at The Hague.

On the other hand, the present war by its prolongation has seriously affected the interests of China, more so perhaps, than those of other powers which have remained neutral. She is at present at a time of reorganization which demands economically and industrially the co-operation of foreign countries, co-operation which a large number of them are unable to accord on account of the war in which they are engaged.

In manifesting her sympathy for the spirit of the President's note, having in view the ending as soon as possible of the hostilities, China is but acting in conformity with not only her interest but also with her profound sentiments.

#### *Persia Eager for Peace*

Medhi Kahn, the Persian Minister at Washington, presented the following note to Secretary Lansing on Jan. 15:

His Imperial Majesty's Government has instructed me to communicate to your Excellency that it experienced the utmost pleasure upon receipt of the President's note of Dec. 18, 1916, regarding peace terms transmitted through the United States plenipotentiary at Teheran, and to express to you the hope that a step so benevolent and humane will meet with the success it deserves.

I am further instructed to say that, notwithstanding we declared ourselves neutral, a large part of our country has been disturbed and devastated by the fighting of the belligerents within our boundaries. In view of this fact you cannot doubt that we heartily welcome and indorse the move the President has made.

Furthermore, inasmuch as his Majesty's Government understands from the President's note that he desires the preservation of the integrity and freedom of the powers and the weaker nations, and in view of the firm friendship which has always existed between our two countries, it ardently hopes that the Government of the United States will assist our oppressed nation to maintain its integrity and rights, not only for the present, but whenever a peace conference shall take place.

## "Peace Founded on the Rock of Vindicated Justice"

Lloyd George's Guildhall Address, Jan. 11, 1917

PREMIER LLOYD GEORGE delivered an important address at the Guildhall, London, Jan. 11, appealing primarily for subscriptions to the new war loan, but also touching largely upon questions in the peace discussion. The

speech was punctuated throughout with cheers and applause, indicating how aptly it expressed the opinions of the auditors. The full text, as sent to THE NEW YORK TIMES by special cable, is as follows:

My Lord Mayor, my Lords, Ladies, and

Gentlemen: The Chancellor of the Exchequer [Bonar Law] in his extremely lucid and impressive speech has placed before you the business side of this proposal, and I think you will agree with me, after hearing his explanation of his scheme, that he has offered for subscription a loan which possesses all the essential ingredients of an attractive investment. They are the most generous terms that the Government can offer without injury to the taxpayer. I agree that the Chancellor was right in offering such liberal terms because it is important that we should secure a big loan now, not merely in order to enable us to finance the war effectively, but as a demonstration of the continued resolve of this country to prosecute the war; and it is upon that aspect of the question that I should like to say a few words.

The German Kaiser a few days ago sent a message to his people that the Allies had rejected his peace offers. He did so in order to drug those whom he could no longer dragoon. Where are those offers? We have asked for them; we have never seen them. We were not offered terms; we were offered a trap baited with fair words. They tempted us once, but the lion has his eyes open. We have rejected no terms that we have ever seen. Of course, it would suit them to have peace at the present moment on their terms. We all want peace; but when we get it it must be a real peace.

#### *War Better Than Prussian Peace*

The allied powers separately and in council together have come to the same conclusion. Knowing well what war means, knowing especially what this war means in suffering, in burdens, in horrors, they have still decided that even war is better than peace at the Prussian price of domination over Europe. We made it clear in our reply to Germany; we made it still clearer in our reply to the United States.

Before we attempt to rebuild the Temple of Peace we must see now that the foundations are solid. They were built before upon the shifting sands of Prussian faith; henceforth, when the time for rebuilding comes, it must be on the rock of vindicated justice.

I have just returned from a council of war of the four great allied countries upon whose shoulders most of this terrible war falls. I cannot give you its conclusions; they might be information to the enemy. There were no delusions as to the magnitude of our task; neither were there any doubts about the results.

I think I can say what was the feeling of every man there. It was one of the most businesslike conferences I ever attended. We faced the whole situation, probed it thoroughly, and looked its difficulties in the face, and made arrangements to deal with them. We separated feeling more confident than ever. All felt that if victory were difficult, defeat was impossible. There was no flinching, no

wavering, no faint-heartedness, no infirmity of purpose.

#### *Challenge to Free Nations*

There was a grim resolution at all costs that we must achieve the high aim with which we accepted the challenge of the Prussian military caste and rid Europe and the world forever of her menace. No country could have refused the challenge without the loss of honor. None could have rejected it without impairing national security. No one would have failed to take it up without forfeiting something which is of greater value to every free and self-respecting people than life itself. Those nations did not enter into the war lightly. They did not embark upon this enterprise without knowing what it really meant. They were not enticed by the prospects of immediate victory.

Take this country. The millions of our men who enlisted in the army enlisted after the German victories of August, 1914, when they knew the accumulated and concentrated power of the German military machine. That was when they placed their lives at the disposal of their country. What about the other lands? They knew what they were encountering; that they were fighting an organization which had been perfected for generations by the best brains of Prussia—perfected with one purpose, the subjugation of Europe.

Why did they do it? I passed through hundreds of miles of the beautiful land of France and of Italy, and as I did so I asked myself this question: Why did the peasants leave by myriads these sunny vineyards and corn-fields in France? Why did they quit these enchanting valleys, with their comfort, their security, their charm, in order to face the grim and wild horrors of the battlefield? They did it for one purpose, and one purpose only. They were not driven to the slaughter by Kings. These are great democratic countries. No Government would have lasted twenty-four hours that had forced them into an abhorrent war against their own free will. They embarked upon it because they knew the fundamental issue had been raised which no country could shirk without imperiling all that has been won in the centuries of the past and all that remains to be won in the ages of the future.

That is why, as the war proceeds and the German purpose becomes more manifest, the conviction is becoming deeper in the minds of those people that they must work their way through to victory in order to save Europe from an unspeakable despotism. That was the spirit that animated the allied conference in Europe last week.

#### *Allies' Increasing Trust in Britain*

But I tell you one thing that struck me, and strikes me more and more each time I attend these conferences and visit the Continent: The increasing extent to which the allied peoples are looking to Great Britain. They are

trusting her rugged strength and great resources more and more. She is to them like a great tower in the deep. She is becoming more and more the hope of the oppressed and despair of the oppressor; and I feel more and more confident that we shall not fail the people who put their trust in us.

But when that arrogant Prussian caste flung the signature of Britain in the treaty in the waste paper basket as if it were of no account, they knew not the pride of the land they were treating with such insolent disdain. They know it now. Our soldiers and our sailors have taught them to respect it. You had an eloquent account from my colleague, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, of the achievements of our soldiers; our sailors are gallantly defending the honor of the country on the high seas. They have strangled the enemy's commerce; they will continue to do so in spite of all the piratical devices of the foe.

#### *Predicts Victory in 1917*

In 1914 and 1915, for two years, a small, ill-equipped army held up the veterans of Prussia, with the best equipment in Europe; in 1916 hurling them back and delivering a blow from which they are reeling. In 1917 the armies of Britain will be more formidable than ever in training, in efficiency, in equipment; and you may depend upon it, if you give them the necessary support, they will cleave a road to victory through the dangers and perils of the next few months.

But we must support them; they are worth it. Have you ever talked to a soldier who has come back from the front? There is not one of them who will not tell you how he is encouraged and sustained by hearing the roar of the guns behind him.

I will tell you what I want to do. I want to see checks hurtling through the air, fired from the City of London; fired from every city, town, and village and hamlet throughout the land; fired straight into the intrenchments of the enemy.

Every well-directed check, well loaded, properly primed, is a more formidable weapon of destruction than a twelve-inch shell. It clears a path to the barbed-wire entanglements for our gallant fellows to march through. A big loan helps you, insures victory; a big loan will help shorten the war; it will help save lives; it will help save the British Empire; it will help save Europe; it will help save civilization.

That is why we want the country to rise to this occasion and show that the old spirit of Britain, represented by those great men [pointing to the monuments in the hall] you have here, is still alive, alert, and as potent as ever.

I want to appeal to the men at home—yes, and to the women. I want to appeal to both; they have done their part nobly in this war. A man who has been a Munitions Minister for twelve months must feel a debt of gratitude to the women for what they have done.

They have helped to win the war, and without them we could not have done it; but I want to make special appeal, or rather to enforce the special appeal of the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

#### *Fervid Appeal for Self-Denial*

Let no money be squandered in luxury and indulgence which can be put into the fight and which counts—every penny of it; every ounce has counted in this struggle. Do not waste it, do not throw it away; put it there to help the valor of our brave young boys. Back them up! Let every one contribute to assist them, with greater pride in it than in costly garments. It will become them; they will feel prouder of it today, and their pride will increase in the years to come, when the best garment they have got will have rotted, when the glisten and glitter of it will improve with the years. They can put it on in old age and say: "This is something I contributed in the great war," and they will be proud of it.

Men and women of England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland! The first charge upon all your surplus money, over your needs for yourselves and your children, should be to help those gallant young men who tendered their lives to the cause of humanity. The more we get the surer the victory; the more we get the shorter the war; the more we get the less it will cost in treasure, and the greatest treasure of all is brave blood. The more we give the more you will be enriched by your contribution, by your sacrifices of extravagance.

I want to bring this home to every man and woman. This extravagance during the war has cost blood—valiant blood, the blood of heroes. It will be worth millions to save one of them—the big loan will save myriads of them. Help them not merely to win; help them to come home, to shout for the victory which they have won.

It means better equipment for our troops, it means better equipment for the allies as well; and this I say for the fiftieth, if not the hundredth, time: this is a war of equipment. That is why we are appealing for your assistance. Most of us could not do more, but what we can do it is our duty, it is our pride, to do.

I said it was a war of equipment. Why are the Germans pressing back our gallant allies in Rumania? It is not that they are better fighters; they certainly are not. The Rumanian peasant has proved himself to be one of the doughtiest fighters in the field when he has the chance—he never had much—and as for the Russian, the way in which, with bared breast, he has fought for two years and a half, with inferior guns, insufficient rifles, inadequate supplies of ammunition, is one of the tales of heroism of the world.

#### *Helping to Equip the Fighters*

Let us help to equip them, and there will be another story to tell soon; but it is for us to

do so, and that is why I am glad to follow the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the appeal he has made to the patriotism of our race—but with true Scottish instinct he put the appeal to prudence first. He had a good foundation for patriotism, and reserved that for his peroration. I am going to reverse the order, belonging to a less canny race. I want to say it is a good investment, after all; the Old Country is the best investment in the world. It was a sound concern before the war; it will be sounder and safer than ever after the war, and especially safer.

I do not know the nation that will care to touch it after this war. They had forgotten what we were like in those days, and it will take them a long time to forget these. It will be a safer investment than ever, and a sounder one.

Have you been watching what is going on? Before the war we had a good many shortcomings in our business, our commerce, our industry. The war is settling them all right in the most marvelous way. You ask a great business man like my friend, Lord Pirrie, what is going on in those great factories throughout Great Britain and Ireland. Old machinery is scrapped; the newest, the best, and the latest is set up; slipshod and wasteful methods are scrapped, and hampering customs discontinued. Millions are brought into the labor market to help to produce who were before purely consumers.

I do not know what the national debt will be at the end of this war, but I will make a prediction: Whatever it is, what is added in real assets to the real riches of the nation will be infinitely greater than any debt we ever acquire. The resources of the nation in every direction have been developed and directed; the nation itself disciplined, braced up, quickened, has become a more alert people. We have thrown off the useless tissues; we are a nation that has been taking exercise. We are a different people.

I will tell you another thing: the Prussian menace was a running mortgage which detracted from the value of our national security. Nobody knew what it meant. We know too well now. You could not tell whether it meant millions or hundreds of millions or thousands of millions, or how many of them. You could not tell that it would not mean ruin.

That mortgage will be cleared off forever—better security on a better foundation, safer security, and at a better rate of interest. The world will then be able, when this war is over, to attend to its business in peace. There will be no war or rumors of war to distract and to distract. We can build up, we can reconstruct, we can till, we can cultivate and enrich, and the burden and terror and waste of war will have gone.

#### *Predicts a League of Peace*

The peace and security for peace will be that the nations will band themselves to-

gether to punish the first peacebreaker who comes out.

As to the armies of Europe, every weapon will be a sword of justice in the Government of men; every arm will be a constabulary of peace. There were men who had hoped to see this achieved in the way of peace. We were disappointed. It was ordained that you should not reach that golden era except along the path which was paved with gold—yea, and cemented with valiant blood. There are millions who have given of the latter who are ready—nay, millions more ready, myriads more ready—for the sacrifice, if the country needs it.

It is for us to contribute the former. Let no man no woman, in this crisis of the nation's fate, through indolence, greed, avarice, or selfishness, fail. If they are doing their part, then, when the time comes for the triumphal march through the darkness and terror of the night into the bright dawn of the morning of the new age, they will each feel that they have done their share.

#### **PAUL DESCHANEL'S ADDRESS**

Paul Deschanel, in addressing the French Chamber of Deputies on Jan. 11, after his re-election as President of that body, said:

The first articles of our program remain the deliverance of Belgium and the restitution of Alsace-Lorraine. This is the only program that can recompense us for our sacrifices and assure to our children a durable peace worthy of France and the republic.

Speaking of the work of Parliament, M. Deschanel took occasion to reply to certain criticisms, saying:

In the most critical moments it was you who established the program for the production of armaments and munitions, after which you made every effort to diminish the delays in providing the army with what was most urgently demanded. Some reproach you with interfering too much in diplomatic and military affairs, but if there were failures they would seek to make you responsible, since it is you who have supervision. It is desired to shorten the war, but when you propose measures for a greater activity of effort which would abridge it, your initiatives are criticised.

In apparent allusion to the request of the Government for authority to issue decrees, in anticipation of legislation, on urgent questions, M. Deschanel said:

Since the war is prolonged, it is our duty to adapt our methods and accelerate our procedure. To maintain order and discipline in our debates also is a form of patriotism, but to that end it is not necessary to throw our institutions into confusion. It will be to the eternal honor of our country to have faced the greatest upheaval of all the ages without changing our laws.

# Lloyd George and His Guildhall Speech

By Charles H. Grasty

*Of The New York Times Staff*

*Cabling from London on Jan. 11, Mr. Grasty sent the following vivid description of the Premier as he appeared during the delivery of his address:*

THIS is neither a character sketch of the Prime Minister nor a report of the big meeting held at the beautiful and historic Guildhall; it is a series of rough impressions made on an American and here given in chronological rather than logical order from notes jotted down as these impressions were produced during the progress of the meeting.

The hall was packed with a representative gathering of London business men. I tried to compare them with a similar body in New York. They were less animated than a New York body, but there was no doubt of their solidity. The Lord Mayor came in with several Sheriffs, the big gold mace borne before them, escorting the Prime Minister.

Mr. Lloyd George took his welcome very quietly, showing but a trace of response as he stood at the rail of the platform. The crowd sang "For He's a Jolly Good Fellow," but the song limped and the performance was more spiritless than the same thing would have been in New York. Then Mr. Lloyd George sat down next to his little daughter, a pink-cheeked girl, who had come with Mrs. Lloyd George a few minutes before. The wife of the Prime Minister wore a black hat, with a plume and a gold buckle, and a velveteen wrap, trimmed with fur, and a collar of muskrat. She had a dark silk frock and white gloves with black stripes. She is a large, wholesome-looking, motherly woman.

When the Prime Minister took his seat he surveyed the crowd and twirled his watch chain, after first putting his right ankle on his left knee, in which position he maintained it during about twenty minutes of Mr. Bonar Law's speech. From time to time he took his gold pince-nez into the hand that was not busy with

the watch chain. After looking straight out on to his audience for a while, his eye sought the vaulted ceiling of the Guildhall. I could observe that he was not studying Gothic architecture, but was further preparing himself for the speech he was to make later.

## *Reformer with Sense of Humor*

Some men have hands larger than their feet, and some men have it the other way round. Lloyd George's foot is small, and he seemed to take considerable pains about his boots. His hands are large and strong. He wore a standing collar with wings upon which his double chin rested comfortably. He is much cleaner-cut than his pictures represent him. He would seem to have a greater degree of health and less spiritual quality than I had supposed.

His eyes look brown or black, but the man next to me said they were in fact dark blue. One expects large eyes in such a man, but the Prime Minister's seemed smallish. He has a very merry twinkle in them, and that is one of his most marked characteristics. You feel that here is a reformer, but one who does not take himself too deadly seriously. He is not so terribly in earnest as to fall over his own feet. I should say that he had taken to himself the wisdom of Plato's counsel: "The best is frequently the enemy of the good."

To leave the Prime Minister for just one instant: I was surprised at how differently Bonar Law looked from below. Heretofore I have examined him from the gallery in the House of Commons, and he seemed to me a short man. Today I observed that he was tallish and spare, and more like the man I had visualized from his photograph. His manner of speaking was a study to me, because his is an oratory absolutely different from anything we have in the United States. He has spirit, but absolutely no warmth. He uses emphasis with miserly

care and restraint, and the effect is most convincing.

Lloyd George whispered something to his daughter and smiled, and it gave me a chance of observing that his face is built along curved lines. If I may speak so of a great statesman, his mouth has a Cupid's bow effect. He has a small nose and delicate nostrils. While his color only comes when he exerts himself in speaking, he is not pallid, and there is not the slightest suspicion of weariness about him.

For a while he rested his right hand on his right knee and continued to study the vaulted roof; then he put his hand in his inside coat pocket and drew out a sheaf of notes. These were cards with a round hole in the upper left-hand corner, through which ran a blue cord tied in a bow knot. Then from his left-hand waistcoat pocket he drew out a very elaborate gold pencil that must have been given to him as a testimonial, for no man would buy such a pencil for himself.

This pencil was fastened by a rope-end of gold, the corresponding portion of which on the right-hand side secured his watch. I noticed, too, that he had a gold chain extending from his right-hand trousers pocket to his right-hand hip pocket, and that to one of the ends of this his bunch of keys was fastened.

When the Lord Mayor introduced the Prime Minister I noticed with interest that he dropped the "g" when reading, which made me feel quite at home.

#### *The Idealized John Bull*

When Lloyd George arose I had a new impression of him. It seemed to me that he had a certain bovine beauty. He is a Celt, but he would not make a bad model for the idealized John Bull. He was quite free from self-consciousness when the great audience gave him its ovation. As he stood up with his hands on the rail I noticed the depth of his chest, and how flat and straight his back was. He was dressed in a cutaway coat, quite in the prevailing style of exaggerated tail. He wore a black four-in-hand, with a very small diamond pin in it. But for his hair of black and white, in the proportion of fifty-fifty, and worn long and brushed

back, Lloyd George would be quite the conventional type of professional man.

There is just a suggestion of Bob Ingersoll and W. J. Bryan in the Prime Minister's appearance. In a general way he belongs to the breed of statesmen who react sensitively to the aspirations, needs, and wrongs of the masses; but he is a very high type, and whatever visionary qualities he may have started with have been pretty well knocked out of him by his experience in the stand-up and knock-down fighting of parliamentary government. A man cannot get very gay with the hard facts of life if he is subject to the hazing that is the principal sport in the House of Commons.

When Lloyd George began I said to myself: "About the only difference between Bonar Law and the Prime Minister as public speakers is that one is an Episcopalian and the other a Baptist," but as things went along I discovered the error of this judgment. Lloyd George indeed is very careful not to get on a high key, but he possesses a dramatic quality which at times he calls into use.

Except at these rare moments the coming and going of reporters and stenographers, who made a confusion between the speaker and his audience, had no psychological effect on the impression he was producing. He was not seeking for rapt attention. A phrase that occurred now and again throughout his remarks was, "You may depend upon it." If he had it in mind to convey a strong impression of dependability, he succeeded admirably.

#### *Avoidance of Eloquence*

When cameras were fired at him early in his speech and clouds of smoke floated over him, he was not in the least disconcerted, nor did it spoil the effect of his opening. When he touched a high point—for example, after his allusion to rebuilding on the rock of vindicated justice—he seemed to make a point of it to put on his glasses and consult his notes, as if to keep himself out of any flow of eloquence. As such he got home splendidly with the impression of dependability when he said that he had just returned from a meeting where there had been no delusions about the magnitude of the Al-

lies' task and no doubt about the result; that they had met like a lot of business men, looked facts in the face, and made arrangements to deal with them.

In this passage, as in others, there was no flight of oratory to fall from, and only enough spirit to prevent any impression of deadness. He makes you feel, as so many English speakers do, the power of his reserve. He looks very strong physically, but he hasn't a big voice, and today it broke just a little into hoarseness after a few minutes.

There isn't the slightest suggestion of age or waning powers in Lloyd George. He is evidently a careful liver and keeps himself well in hand. One is struck with a sense of the harmoniousness of the whole Lloyd George—head, body, and intellectual personality.

He made his points very telling with what we in America would regard as a minimum of effort. His allusion to the Russians who have stood with bared breasts against the Germans, his assurance that, no matter how great the debt, the added wealth would be still greater, his picture of England struggling before the war under a running mortgage of menace from Germany, and his statement that the nations would band together after the war to punish the first peace-breaker, were among the high points touched by him, with his feet firmly on the ground. While he used accent and intonation very

much more freely than did Bonar Law, he had a measured manner of speech that was the opposite of spellbinding.

Only at the very end did he put dramatic quality into it. He threw his notes down on the table with a gesture of having finished that chapter; then he put his hand on the red cloth-covered rail and spoke his last four or five sentences as Forbes-Robertson might have done, with an appearance of restrained passion.

After the voting of the usual resolution those on the platform and in the audience rose and sang "God Save the King!" Lloyd George stood up very straight and sang with a will. The crowd then filed out.

I fell in with Lord Claud John Hamilton, and we walked over the wet, glistening street to Cheapside. Lord Claud has been a Conservative member of the House of Commons nearly the whole time for fifty-one years. He and his family and his class have stood for different things than those represented by Lloyd George. I was very much interested in what Lord Claud should think about the meeting.

"I have attended a great many meetings in the Guildhall," he said, "but this was the largest I have ever seen. Lloyd George and Bonar Law presented the matter most forcibly, and the loan will be a success."

## Ruines

Par FREDERIC RAISIN

Les murs assassinés par le feu des Vandales  
Et dont les pans noircis,—inoubliable effroi,—  
Disent le long martyre, hélas! les nobles Halles,  
Les jacquemarts, les tours, les clochers, les beffrois,

Ainsi que la splendeur des hautes cathédrales,  
—Monuments de la foi des peuples et des rois,—  
Tout, malgré les serments, les traités et les lois,  
Tout a croulé sous les fureurs impériales.

Gardez-vous de toucher à ces reliques saintes!  
Laissez-les vers le ciel faire monter leur plainte,  
Ou retentit l'écho des funèbres tocsins!

Ne relevez jamais ces illustres masures!  
Qu'elles vivent avec toutes leurs meurtrissures,  
Gage éternel de haine envers les assassins!

# GERMAN PEACE REJECTED

Reply of Allies Characterizes the Proposal as  
"Empty and Insincere"

## CHRONOLOGY OF GERMAN PEACE NOTE.

- Dec. 12, 1916—Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg presents the German peace proposal to the Reichstag.  
Dec. 12—Premier Briand, in French Chamber, denounces the proposal as "a trap."  
Dec. 13—Bonar Law, British Chancellor of the Exchequer, says peace is impossible without reparation and security.  
Dec. 19—Baron Sonnino, Italian Foreign Minister, discredits the sincerity of the proposal in the Italian Chamber.  
Dec. 19—Premier Lloyd George delivers an address in Parliament rejecting the proposal.  
Dec. 19—Earl Curzon, Lord President of the British War Council, declares against proposition in House of Lords.  
Dec. 22—King George, in proroguing Parliament, expresses inflexible determination to achieve final victory.  
Dec. 25—Czar of Russia, in an order to his armies, asserts that no peace is possible until Russia's aims are won.  
Dec. 30—Formal reply of Entente Allies is sent to Germany.  
Dec. 31—Kaiser Wilhelm, in a general order, declares that Germany is victorious in all theatres on land and sea.  
Jan. 6, 1917—German and Austrian Emperors issue orders announcing the Allies' refusal, and lay upon them the blame for continuation of the war.  
Jan. 8—Sultan of Turkey announces intention of redoubling his efforts to destroy his enemies.

CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE for January contained the official documents mentioned in the first half of the chronology printed above, with the portion of Lord Curzon's speech of Dec. 19 then obtainable. That important utterance appears in full in the present issue.

Taking up the chronological narrative of the German peace episode where it broke off last month, the speech of King George V. of England in proroguing Parliament on Dec. 22, 1916, comes into the story. The text is as follows:

My Lords and Gentlemen:

Throughout the months that have elapsed since I last addressed you, my navy and my army, in conjunction with those of our gallant and faithful allies, have by their unceasing vigilance and indomitable valor justified the high trust I placed in them.

I am confident that, however long the struggle, their efforts, supported by the inflexible determination of all my subjects throughout the empire, will finally achieve the victorious consummation of those aims for which I entered into the war.

My Government has been reconstructed with the sole object of furthering those aims unaltered and unimpaired. I thank you for the unstinted liberality with which you continue to provide for the burdens of the war.

The vigorous prosecution of the war must

be our single endeavor until we have vindicated the rights so ruthlessly violated by our enemies and established the security of Europe on a sure foundation. In this sacred cause I am assured of the united support of all my peoples, and I pray that the Almighty God may give us His blessing.

### Czar's Official Comment

Germany's peace proposal called forth from the Emperor of Russia the following utterance on Dec. 25 in the form of a general order to the Russian armies:

It is now more than two years since Germany, in the midst of peace and after secretly preparing over a long period to enslave all the nations of Europe, suddenly attacked Russia and her faithful ally France. This attack compelled England to join us and take part in our battle.

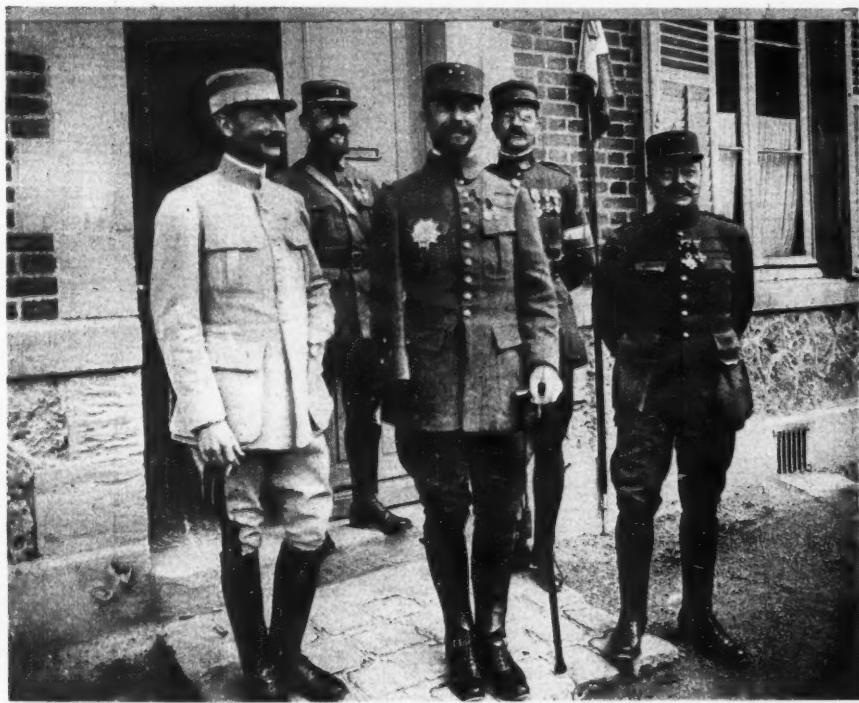
The complete disdain which Germany showed to principles of international law as demonstrated by the violation of the neutrality of Belgium, and her pitiless cruelty toward the peaceful inhabitants in the occupied provinces, little by little united the great powers of Europe against Germany and her ally Austria.

Under the pressure of the German troops, which were well provided with the technical aids to warfare, Russia as well as France was compelled in the first year of the war to give up a portion of its territory, but this temporary reverse did not break the spirit of our faithful allies, nor of you, my gallant troops. In time, by the concentrated

## FRENCH GENERALS AND THEIR STAFFS



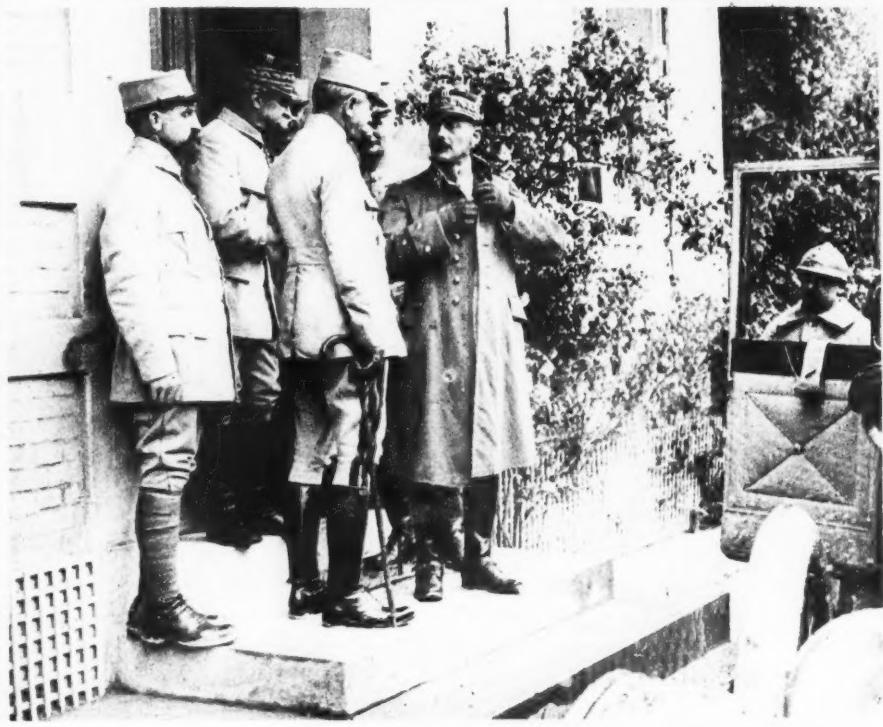
General Marchand of African Fame, Before His Headquarters on the Somme Front



General Gouraud Before the Divisional Headquarters on the Champagne Front

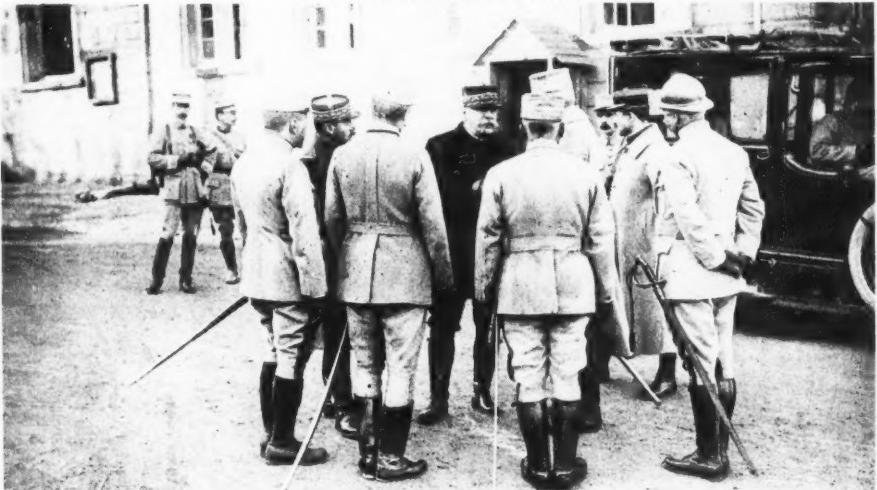
(Photos from Press Illustrating Co.)

MEN WHO COMMAND THE "POILUS"



General Humbert Leaving Headquarters for a Tour of the Lines in the Verdun District

(Press Illustrating Co.)



General Joffre, While Still Commander in Chief, Consulting a Group of His Generals

(Underwood & Underwood.)

efforts of the Government, the inequalities between our own and the German technical resources were gradually reduced. But long before this time, even from the Autumn of 1915, our enemy was experiencing difficulty in retaining a single portion on Russian soil, and in the Spring and Summer of the current year suffered a number of severe defeats and assumed the defensive along the whole front. His strength apparently is waning, but the strength of Russia and her gallant allies continues to grow without failing.

Germany is feeling that the hour of her complete defeat is near, and near also the hour of retribution for all her wrong-doings and for the violation of moral laws. Similarly, as in the time when her war strength was superior to the strength of her neighbors, Germany suddenly declared war upon them, so now, feeling her weakness, she suddenly offers to enter into peace negotiations. Particularly she desires to begin these negotiations and to complete them before her military talent is exhausted. At the same time she is creating a false impression about the strength of her army by making use of her temporary success over the Rumanians, who had not succeeded in gaining experience in the conduct of modern warfare.

But if, originally, Germany was in the position to declare war and fall upon Russia and her ally France, in her most favorable time, having strengthened in wartime the alliance, among which is to be found almighty England and noble Italy, this alliance in its turn has also the possibility of entering into peace negotiations at such a time as it considers favorable for itself.

The time has not yet arrived. The enemy has not yet been driven out of the provinces occupied by her. The attainment by Russia

of the tasks created by the war—the regaining of Constantinople and the Dardanelles, as well as the creation of a free Poland from all three of her now incomplete tribal districts—has not yet been guaranteed.

To conclude peace at this moment would mean the failure to utilize the fruits of the untold trials of you, heroic Russian troops and fleet. These trials, and still more the sacred memory of those noble sons of Russia who have fallen on the field of battle, do not permit the thought of peace until the final victory over our enemies.

Who dares to think that he who brought about the beginning of the war shall have it in his power to conclude the war at any time he likes?

I do not doubt that every faithful son of holy Russia under arms who entered into the firing line, as well as those working in the interior for the increase of her war strength or the creation of her industry, will be convinced that peace can only be given to the enemy after he has been driven from our borders; and then only when, finally broken, he shall give to us and our faithful allies reliable proof of the impossibility of a repetition of the treacherous attack and a firm assurance that he will keep to these promises. By the strength of these guarantees he will be bound to the fulfillment in times of peace of those things which he undertakes.

Let us be firm in the certainty of our victory and the All Highest will bless our standards and will cover them afresh with glory, and will give to us a peace worthy of your heroic deeds, my glorious troops—a peace for which the future generation will bless your memory, which will be sacred to them.

NICHOLAS.

## Text of Formal Reply of the Entente Allies to the Central Powers

THE reply of the Entente Allies to the peace proposals of the Central Powers was handed to the American Ambassador at Paris by Premier Briand, Dec. 30, 1916, and was at once forwarded by cable to President Wilson, who in turn transmitted it to the Central Powers. The note reached Berlin from the United States on Jan. 4, 1917, and was presented by Ambassador Gerard that day at noon; the Swiss Minister at Berlin had already presented an official copy on Jan. 2, which had come by way of Rome.

The reply was the result of prolonged conferences between the Foreign Min-

isters of the Entente Allies and a full interchange of views by the respective Governments. It is reported that the main draft was first written in French, and that the reference at the close to Belgium was added at the request of King Albert after the rest of the note had been completed.

The full official text of the reply is as follows:

The allied Governments of Belgium, France, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, Montenegro, Portugal, Rumania, Russia, and Serbia, united for the defense of the liberty of their peoples and faithful to engagements taken not to lay down their arms separately, have resolved to reply collectively to the pretended propositions of peace which were addressed to them

on behalf of the enemy Governments through the intermediary of the United States, Spain, Switzerland, and Holland.

Before making any reply, the allied powers desire particularly to protest against the two essential assertions of the notes of the enemy powers that pretend to throw upon the Allies responsibility for the war and proclaim the victory of the Central Powers. The allied Governments cannot admit an affirmation doubly inexact and which suffices to render sterile all tentative negotiations. The allied nations have sustained for thirty months a war they did everything to avoid. They have shown by their acts their attachment to peace. That attachment is as strong today as it was in 1914. But it is not upon the word of Germany, after the violation of its engagements, that the peace broken by her may be based.

A mere suggestion without a statement of terms, that negotiations should be opened, is not an offer of peace. The putting forward by the Imperial Government of a sham proposal lacking all substance and precision would appear to be less an offer of peace than a war manoeuvre. It is founded on calculated misinterpretation of the character of the struggle in the past, the present, and the future.

As for the past, the German note takes no account of the facts, dates, and figures, which establish that the war was desired, provoked, and declared by Germany and Austria-Hungary.

At The Hague Conference it was a German delegate who refused all proposals for disarmament. In July, 1914, it was Austria-Hungary, who, after having addressed to Serbia an unprecedented ultimatum, declared war upon her in spite of the satisfaction which had at once been accorded.

The Central Empires then rejected all attempts made by the Entente to bring about a pacific solution of a purely local conflict. Great Britain suggested a conference; France proposed an international commission; the Emperor of Russia asked the German Emperor to go to arbitration, and Russia and Austria-Hungary came to an understanding on the eve of the conflict. But to all these efforts Germany gave neither answer nor effect.

Belgium was invaded by an empire which had guaranteed her neutrality and which had the assurance to proclaim that treaties were "scraps of paper," and that "necessity knows no law."

At the present moment these sham offers on the part of Germany rest on the war map of Europe alone, which represents nothing more than a superficial and passing phase of the situation and not the real strength of the belligerents. A peace concluded upon these terms would be only to the advantage of the aggressors, who, after imagining that they would reach their goal in two months, discovered after two years that they could never attain it.

As for the future, the disasters caused by the German declaration of war and the innumerable outrages committed by Germany and her allies against both belligerents and neutrals demand penalties, reparation, and guarantees. Germany avoids mention of any of these.

In reality these overtures made by the Central Powers are nothing more than a calculated attempt to influence the future course of war and to end it by imposing a German peace. The object of these overtures is to create dissension in public opinion in the allied countries. But that public opinion has, in spite of all the sacrifices endured by the Allies, already given its answer with admirable firmness, and has denounced the empty pretense of the declaration of the enemy powers.

They [the peace overtures] have the further object of stiffening public opinion in Germany and in the countries allied to her—one and all severely tried by their losses, worn out by economic pressure and crushed by the supreme effort which has been imposed upon their inhabitants.

They endeavor to deceive and intimidate public opinion in neutral countries, whose inhabitants have long since made up their minds where the initial responsibilities lie and are far too enlightened to favor the designs of Germany by abandoning the defense of human freedom.

Finally, these overtures attempt to justify in advance in the eyes of the world a new series of crimes—submarine warfare, deportations, forced labor and forced enlistment of the inhabitants against their own countries, and violations of neutrality.

Fully conscious of the gravity of this moment, but equally conscious of its requirements, the allied Governments, closely united to one another and in perfect sympathy with their peoples, refuse to consider a proposal which is empty and insincere.

Once again the Allies declare that no peace is possible so long as they have not secured reparation for violated rights and liberties, the recognition of the principle of nationality and of the free existence of small States, so long as they have not brought about a settlement calculated to end once and for all forces which have constituted a perpetual menace to the nations, and to afford the only effective guarantee for the future security of the world.

In conclusion, the allied powers think it necessary to put forward the following considerations, which show the special situation of Belgium after two and a half years of war. In virtue of the international treaties signed by five great European powers, of which Germany was one, Belgium enjoyed before the war a special status, rendering her territory inviolable and placing her, under the guarantee of the powers, outside all European conflicts. She was, however, in spite of these treaties, the first to suffer the

aggression of Germany. For this reason the Belgian Government think it necessary to define the aims which Belgium has never ceased to pursue while fighting side by side with the Entente Powers for right and justice.

Belgium has always scrupulously fulfilled the duties which her neutrality imposed upon her. She has taken up arms to defend her independence and her neutrality violated by Germany and to show that she remains faithful to her international obligations.

On the 4th of August, 1914, in the Reichstag the German Chancellor admitted that this aggression constituted an injustice, contrary to the laws of nations, and pledged himself in the name of Germany to repair it. During two and a half years this injustice has been cruelly aggravated by the proceedings of the occupying forces, which have exhausted the resources of the country, ruined its industries, devastated its towns and villages, and have been responsible for innumerable massacres, executions, and imprisonments.

At this very moment, while Germany is proclaiming peace and humanity to the world, she is deporting Belgian citizens by thousands and reducing them to slavery.

Belgium before the war asked for nothing but to live in harmony with her neighbors. Her King and her Government have but one aim—the re-establishment of peace and justice. But they only desire peace which would assure to their country legitimate reparation, guarantees, and safeguards for the future.

#### *Kaiser's New Year Order*

The first official document that succeeded the issuance of the Entente reply was an address to the German Army and Navy by Emperor William on Dec. 31. Though doubtless written before the text of the reply had been made public, it bears upon the subject. The Kaiser's address was in the form of a general order to his soldiers and sailors as follows:

Again a year of war lies behind us, with hard fighting and sacrifices, rich in successes and victories. The hopes which our enemies put in 1916 have been foiled. All their assaults, east and west, have collapsed, owing to your bravery and devotion.

Our recent triumphal march through Rumania, has, by Divine Providence, again added imperishable laurels to your banners. The greatest naval battle this year was our victory in the Skagerrak and the gallant deeds of our submarines have secured for my navy glory and admiration forever.

You are victorious in all theatres of war on land and sea. A grateful Fatherland looks to you with unshakable confidence and proud reliance. The incomparable warlike spirit alive in your ranks, your tenacity, your never-slackening will to vanquish, your love

of the Fatherland, are to me a guarantee that in the new year also victory will remain with our banners. God also in the future will be with us.

On the same day the King of Bavaria issued the following order:

If the enemy refuses the hand we offered him in the consciousness of our strength, we shall enforce the peace which he refuses. We approach with firm confidence the decision which the new year will bring us.

#### *Kaiser's "Steel" Rejoinder*

The German Emperor's direct comment upon the reply of the Entente Powers was published officially on Jan. 6 in the form of the following general order to the German Army and Navy:

Conjointly with the allied (Central Powers) rulers, I proposed to our enemies to enter forthwith into peace negotiations. Our enemies refused my offer. Their hunger for power desires Germany's destruction.

The war will be continued. Before God and humanity, I declare that on the Governments of our enemies alone falls the heavy responsibility for all the further terrible sacrifices from which I wished to save you.

With justified indignation at our enemies' arrogant crime and with determination to defend our holiest possessions and secure for the Fatherland a happy future, you will become as steel.

Our enemies did not want the understanding offered by me. With God's help our arms will enforce it.

WILHELM, I. R.

Emperor Charles also issued an order on Jan. 6 to the Austro-Hungarian Army and Fleet in connection with the receipt of the reply from the Entente Allies. He declared that the Entente alone was to blame for the continuation of the war.

Two days later the same sentiments were echoed by the Sultan of Turkey in a proclamation to the army. Recalling the peace proposal of the Central Powers, the Sultan said:

The enemy countries, disregarding the serious intention and sublime spirit of our purpose, disdainfully rejected our offer, and we are obliged, with our allies, to continue the war, leaving to the enemy the moral and material responsibility of fresh bloodshed and the ruin of homes. \* \* \* With the aid of the Almighty we shall obtain final victory and deliver our country from the greed of our enemies. Henceforth, with our allies, we will redouble our zeal and efforts in order, with the aid of God, to destroy our enemies everywhere.

#### *Trend of Public Opinion*

The Associated Press dispatches from

Berlin on Jan. 4 reported the effect of the Entente note upon German opinion in these words: "Sober second thought in official circles confirms the impression expressed on the day the press version of the note was received here, that the note puts an end for the present to all chances of peace, and Germany and her allies must buckle down to the task of continuing the struggle with all energy. This undercurrent of opinion is largely supported by the opinion expressed in the neutral press."

The answer had been foreshadowed by previous dispatches printed in Germany and throughout Central Europe. It therefore created no shock; nevertheless, the comments of the German press and publicists were extremely bitter. The semi-official Berlin Vossische Zeitung characterized the reply as "scornful," and added that "cold steel" must be Germany's rejoinder. The Tageblatt said it confirmed the fact that the Entente was bent upon the dismemberment of Germany and Austria. The Kreuz-Zeitung said it was an "insult," and the only reply Germany could give must be "with the sword." Vorwärts, the Socialist organ, said the refusal indicated that the Entente hoped to "lay Germany prostrate." The Berlin Lokal-Anzeiger said: "Every one will be surprised and shocked at the shallowness, levity, and mendacity of the reasons given for the refusal, and it is difficult to explain how ten serious men were able to affix their signatures to the document without blushing. Our answer can only be given on the battlefield."

In the Entente countries the reply was received by the press with practically unanimous approval. In the United States comment by public men and newspapers was colored by their previous sympathies, the preponderance of opinion being one of strong approval of the position the Allies had taken.

#### Origin of the Move

On Jan. 15, 1917, the German newspapers printed an autograph letter from the German Emperor to Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg under date of Oct. 31, 1916, in which the Kaiser expressed

his wish that peace proposals be initiated. The letter follows:

My Dear Bethmann:

I have since been turning over our conversation thoroughly in my mind. It is clear that the peoples in the enemy countries, who are kept in hard endurance of the war by lies and frauds and deluded by fighting and hatred, possess no men who are able or who have the moral courage to speak the word which will bring relief—to propose peace.

What is wanted is a moral deed to free the world, including neutrals, from the pressure which weighs upon all. For such a deed it is necessary to find a ruler who has a conscience, who feels that he is responsible to God, who has a heart for his own people and for those who are his enemies, who is indifferent to any possible willful misinterpretation of his act, and possesses the will to free the world from its sufferings.

I have the courage. Trusting in God, I shall dare to take this step. Please draft notes on these lines and submit them to me, and make all necessary arrangements without delay.

A characteristic English comment on this letter is an editorial in The London Telegraph of Jan. 15, 1917, as follows:

Where was the Kaiser's conscience or the conscience of the German military caste when for forty years they plotted and schemed for war? Did the Kaiser then feel his responsibility to God or did he then possess a heart for his own people and those of his enemies? To charge him with mere hypocrisy is to accuse him of much too small a vice. The truth is rather that if ever there was a ruler afflicted with the incurable malady known to the philosophers of old as "the lie in the soul," it is the monarch who dares to invoke the name of God in connection with a heartless sham.

He proclaims himself by implication as the only belligerent ruler with a conscience—he who sanctioned the preparation long years ago of plans for the invasion of Belgium and the deliberate and cold-blooded barbarities carried out by the German army of occupation in order to cow the people into submission.

He feels his responsibility to God—he who decorated the commander of the submarine which sank the Lusitania and did not interfere to save Nurse Cavell. He has a heart even for the peoples of his enemies—he who never spoke a word in restraint of the massacres of hundreds of thousands of Armenians. And he has the will to free the world from its sufferings, though at the outset he might have stopped the war with a gesture. That would, in truth, have been a "moral deed," which would have made his name famous forever, though the great machine of evil which he had created was even in August, 1914, getting fast beyond his control.

But the idea of the supreme war lord of the world stepping down into the arena as a

beneficent prince of peace because he was growing tired of his victories or because the weight of his armor had become irksome to him and his caprice longed for another rôle—this was a change, indeed, which must have caused his Chancellor some troubled hours.

## German Semi-Official Comments on the Entente Reply

THE impression created in German official circles by the Entente's reply was reflected in two important semi-official utterances. One of these was a statement made on Jan. 2 to the Overseas News Agency by Dr. Hammann, who until the turn of the year had been Director of the Intelligence Department of the German Foreign Office. The statement was sent entire from Berlin to New York by wireless, a sufficient evidence of its approval by the German Government. Dr. Hammann said:

If I am to express an opinion in a few words, it is this: Instead of taking place around a peace table, the Entente's deliberations took place on a Judge's chair. Apparently the Entente forgot nothing that could possibly influence neutrals against us.

The point of the accusation, however, to which the largest space is allotted in the Entente note is "the martyrdom of Belgium." But if one desires to pass judgment on "the martyrdom of Belgium" one must speak beforehand regarding "neutral and loyal Belgium," and this Belgium had ceased to exist long before the war. I do not want to speak about the documents which we found in Brussels and which have been published. They can be read by everybody. I only wish to single out one point which up to now has not been sufficiently considered—the report made by Baron Greindl, Belgian Minister at Berlin, dated Dec. 23, 1911.

This clear-sighted statesman then explained forcibly that already at that time the Entente was inspired by nothing but the one thought of encircling Germany from the north. As proof of this, Baron Greindl quoted the outcry started in Paris and London a short time before, when the Dutch plan to fortify Flushing had become known. Baron Greindl then said: "The reason why they wished that the Scheldt remain without defense was not concealed. In this they admitted their purpose to be able to transport an English garrison to Antwerp without hindrance, thus creating in Belgium a basis for operations in the direction of the lower Rhine and Westphalia."

### *Responsibility of Belgium*

Baron Greindl reported that the plan was then changed in such a manner that the English auxiliary army was not to be landed

on the Belgian coast, but in the adjoining French ports. This same plan of an English landing in order to threaten Germany was equally hinted at as imminent by Lord Roberts during the last Moroccan crisis. In such circumstances it most certainly would have been an easy thing for Belgium, after the German question in 1914, (whether Belgium would permit the passage of German troops,) to take her armies back to Antwerp and then let the Germans, under protest, march through the country.

How little such action would have violated the spirit of existing conditions may be understood if one recalls the secret clauses of the treaties of 1831. In them certain agreements from former times were maintained, which reserve, as well to England as to Germany, the right to occupy a Belgian fortress. In 1887 a great English newspaper—if I am not mistaken, it was The Standard—still declared that employment on the part of Germany of the right of way through Belgium could not be taken as in violation of Belgian neutrality.

The principle of nationality plays a large part in the answer of the Entente. No nation is better able to understand this principle than the German, for no great civilized nation has suffered so much, has been forced to struggle so greatly, because of being suppressed and dismembered by neighboring races. Equally, no single great nation has less to fear from the application of this principle of nationalities than the German. Germany would absolutely consent if this principle of nationalities were carried out in Egypt, India, Morocco, Ireland, by the country in power, not to speak of Russia's nationalities.

Germany has been brutally treated for centuries by her neighbors, despite this principle of nationalities. Yet in 1866, fifty years ago, that is, in the Nikolsburg peace, (closing the war between Prussia and Austria,) a clause was inserted, upon the demand of Napoleon III., which left open for the southern German States the conclusion of a separate confederation. The leading, but unavowed, idea was then to found a new Rhine Bund.

### *Rumania and Greece*

As to the free existence of small nations, this idea, too, has found a very strange illustration during the war. Only a few weeks have elapsed since a leading English Minister termed the misfortune of the Rumanians plainly a "gross blunder." By this "blunder" a whole nation has been pushed into misery. Rumania has been dragged into a

great war by all sorts of dark machinations. And then look at Greece! There the Entente has occupied the ports, the railroads, cable and postal stations and whole districts of the country, all against the law of nations. There the Entente has simply taken what is needed and by blockade and hunger has forced the Greeks to surrender those things which the Entente was unable to take.

As to the reproach that Germany in the decisive week of July, 1914, declined the British proposal of a conference and thus made war unavoidable: The proposal was made July 26 by Grey. The meaning of it was that delegates of France, Italy, and Germany should meet with Grey in conference and try to find a way out of a difficult situation. The first condition making the holding of such a conference possible should have been that the Russian Cabinet declare its consent, but it was answered July 27 in an evasive manner and referred to conversations with the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador in St. Petersburg (Petrograd) as having begun under the most favorable auspices.

The following day Grey agreed to the German proposal that a direct understanding between Vienna and St. Petersburg would result in quicker and better action. Thus Grey, on July 28, telegraphed to Goschen (British Ambassador at Berlin): "But as long as there is a prospect of a direct exchange of views between Austria and Russia I should suspend every other suggestion, as I entirely agree that it is the most preferable method of all."

#### *Agitation in France*

I can only advise every one to read the English Blue Book if he wants to be informed about these matters. But to my mind it seems to be altogether wrong to look for the real causes of the war in the events during the last weeks of July, 1914. Then, perhaps, the last impulse for war was given, but the real cause must be found a considerable time before.

Since the Anglo-French Treaty of 1904 a complete literature had sprung up in France, in which openly and loudly the conquest of Alsace-Lorraine was discussed, and everything said in order to suggest to the French the idea of Germany's inferiority. The Entente's note points out that at the last peace conference Germany treated the proposition to disarm with distrust. But Germany knew then pertinently that the proposition was mainly directed against her existence.

Russia, after the economic regulation that followed the war with Japan, had worked with increasing zeal for the preparedness of her army. When Germany employed the surplus of her youth for military service, France, in order to surpass us, introduced a three-year service, thus sapping her capital of vital forces. Six months before the beginning of the war the French military specialists published openly discussions regarding the reasons for billions and billions of French money streaming into Russia and the condi-

tions under which France undertook the construction of strategical railroads in Russia.

In this literature, it was explained, with all the circumstances, that not Warsaw but Grodno and Koyno would be the base for Russian deployment, because from there the Prussian army corps in Königsberg and Allenstein could most quickly be rolled up, and thus the road to Berlin could be opened.

In August, 1914, the attempt was made at least to make things go this way, and today they want to persuade the nations of the world that Germany prepared herself, not for protection against an aggressive coalition, but in order to annihilate France.

#### *Conquest of Constantinople*

The same people who promised to Russia the conquest and possession of Constantinople dare to assert that Germany has aggressive intentions. Of course, the conquest of Constantinople, which was announced by Trepoff (the Russian Premier) in the Duma, is passed in silence in the Entente note, just as they, in a discussion of diplomatic events in July, 1914, elegantly slide over the decisive event—that brusque intervention in all attempts at mediation by the Russian mobilization, which was even repeatedly dissuaded by the English Ambassador at St. Petersburg.

Do I think that under these circumstances the moral indignation in the tone of the Entente note is sincere? Most certainly I do. I am of the same opinion as Bernard Shaw, and consider the sincerity of this moral indignation as a new instance of the providential harmony between the interests and moral and political ideas of England. We know this moral indignation from history, when the Prussians and Austrians marched into Schleswig-Holstein in order to assist their countrymen and fight on the side of the Schleswig-Holstein irredentists for the independence of the German race; then Lord Palmerston and Lord Shaftesbury, in the lower and upper houses, manifested the same moral indignation. They also immediately found the same sincere words as "outrage," "violence," "most cowardly," and "frightful atrocities."

Sincere was Sir Edward Grey's indignation when, on July 29, 1914, he received from the German Chancellor the suggestion that Germany, if English neutrality were guaranteed, would enter into an obligation not to aspire to territorial extension at France's cost if Germany were victorious in the war. At that time Grey declared this proposal as most shameful, an offer of base traffic at France's expense.

#### *Entente and Public Opinion*

The tangible point in the German peace proposal was that Germany declared her readiness to communicate her peace conditions in conference with her adversaries. The Entente has declined this proposal. To me it seems evident that the Entente, when doing this, felt seriously concerned and greatly depressed on account of the impression this

refusal of the German peace offer must make on the neutral world.

This is clearly indicated by the tone of the Entente note. It is exactly as if the Entente were in a certain sense afraid to listen to the conditions of the Central Powers. Are those men who gave to the Entente note its particular tone perhaps afraid that these conditions of the Central Powers are much too sensible and moderate for them, before their nations, who long for peace, to undertake the responsibility of declining those individual conditions?

At all events, our adversaries would have acted more frankly if they had flatly and plainly said: "We will wait because we still hope that we need not negotiate but can dictate the terms of peace." In order to avoid this awkward avowal, the Entente now takes the attitude of the judge of the world. But all that the Entente obtains by this proceeding is that its guilt for the continuation of the war unmistakably in the eyes of the whole world is not diminished, but increased.

I do not know the official peace plan, but I do know what every German, what every citizen in the countries allied with us feels at this hour. Of such overbearing language there need be no discussion.

#### *Dr. Ludwig Stein's View*

Another German comment of official significance is that of Dr. Ludwig Stein, the foreign political expert of the powerful Ullstein papers, including the *Vossische Zeitung*. On Jan. 3 he said:

The answer is no answer at all, but documentary evidence of the Entente's embarrassment. When one has no matters of fact to recite one takes refuge in and behind historic diffuseness and verbosities. Examination into the question of the blame for the war, which introduces the answer, cannot be made by one of the parties concerned, but must be left to nonpartisan judgment. President Wilson was quite right when he said the causes of the war were shrouded in darkness.

This note is not addressed to Germany, but to the neutrals, on one hand, and is for home consumption on the other. The historical retrospect should be left either to the professional historians or else to a nonpartisan court, but never to the interested parties, who naturally always assert the exact contrary, as in the case of the famous answer to the telegram which precipitated the Franco-Prussian war. It was not the dispatch, however, but Sedan which ended the war.

The historic start has no bearing on the winding up of a war. If there is any logic to be seen in the Entente answer it is only in that the Entente asserts that it has prepared a "hunger Sedan" for us.

Quite apart from the fact that the attempt to starve out 180,000,000 people, including women and children, is quite contrary to the heroic, the granary of Rumania will insure

that, while we may perhaps hunger, we shall never be starved out.

The note proceeds from two premises—that we started the war and that we claim to have won it. What hurts the Entente most is the premise that the Central Powers assert that they are victor, the Entente refusing to consider the actual victor as the political victor as well. Here, however, is where the work of President Wilson comes in. President Wilson's proposal is to find a way so that both groups will confess and admit that there are neither victorious nor vanquished in this war. Mr. Wilson's logical train of thought was quite right—that no longer the sword, but diplomacy, must have the word. President Wilson demands decision of the war through ink, the Entente through blood.

It has struck me that always and only Belgium is spoken of, which represents only England's interest; in the note nothing is said of Serbia, Montenegro, Rumania, &c., because England has no interest there, but only Russia. The key to the meaning of this obvious omission in the Entente answer is furnished by a conversation I had recently in which my informant quoted a Russian Ambassador, whom he had met shortly before, as saying that Russia did not dream of restoring the small Balkan States, but, on the contrary, that, now that the Central Powers had swept away the monarchs from the Balkans, it had thereby been made easier for Russia to make all the Balkan States into a Russian province.

In this light the Entente note does not jibe with the theoretical professions regarding the principle of nationalities. This principle covers and extends only to England's intentions, which include only Belgium, but is not consistent with Russian interests and intentions, Russia being purely a conqueror, a State which suppresses all small nations, and desires to crush even ancient Turkey and make Constantinople a war goal. How can one say in the same breath, "Save the small States and conquer and crush Turkey?"

President Wilson still has open to him Paragraph 3 of The Hague Convention, which specifically states that an offer of mediation is not to be regarded as an unfriendly act. This convention is still in force, having been signed by all the States. The Boer war called The Hague Convention into life, and if President Wilson appeals to the Czar, reminding him of his work, the Czar won't murder the favorite child of his own brain.

From the tone of the note there is, to be sure, apparently no way left open to peace. Lloyd George's political trinity—restitution, reparation, and guarantees—bars all doors. The fact, however, that the Entente does not demand that we make known our specific peace conditions may be because that would be like requiring us to placard them on the billboards. The conditions can be made known only at a preliminary conference such as President Wilson proposed, the conditions to be tentatively felt out there.

# WAR SEEN FROM TWO ANGLES

[GERMAN VIEW]

## Preparing for the Final Decision

By H. H. von Mellenthin

*Foreign Editor New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung*

THE Central Powers made their peace offer upon the claim that their war aims have been attained. They support this claim by pointing to the present European war map. The rejection of this offer by the Entente Powers is based upon the contention that the map of Europe as it looks today represents merely an insignificant and momentary phase of the situation, and not the real strength of the belligerents. The war aims fixed and announced by the Allies presuppose a victory which the future is expected to bring them. Therefore, the war goes on.

Such, from a military standpoint, is the logical necessity. The war must be continued until it definitely decides whether the war map does represent only an insignificant and temporary phase of the situation or the real strength of the belligerents. The war must decide the justification or the inadmissibility of the expectation of future victory. It will continue until the force of arms has brought about a situation which will compel recognition from both sets of belligerents as the decisive basis for peace negotiations. And that is the sum and substance of the military axiom that only war can lead to peace—that is, to a peace whose duration is guaranteed.

The Entente's rejection of the Central Powers' peace proffer would have been beyond all criticism had it been openly and frankly voiced in this form:

"We are not in a position, in view of the present military situation, even to sit down with you at the same table for a talk about peace, for we are firmly convinced that we will yet attain decisive victory. In this unshakable expectation we are preparing for a new blow which, true to our conviction and our firm will,

is to decide the war on the field of battle in our favor! We cannot talk of peace today because we mean to force it tomorrow upon a thoroughly beaten foe!"

In any case the military outlook is clear once more. The net result of the peace notes, which of late have overshadowed interest in the military developments, is this: That this war, too, is to be decided upon the battlefield.

### *The Rumanian Campaign*

The development of the military situation during the period which is the subject of this review (up to the middle of January) was again confined almost exclusively to the Rumanian campaign.

One of the war aims of the Central Allies is the consolidation of the communication with the Near East by way of the Balkans. The Rumanian campaign represents the definite regulation of the conditions in the Balkans. This regulation has during the latest phase of the war developed progress as follows:

The Rumanian campaign, as far as the Dobrudja and Small and Great Wallachia are concerned, is ended. With the occupation of Rimnicu-Sarat, on the road from Buzeu to Focsani, by the Teuton Ninth Army, under General von Falkenhayn, the last line of defense before Braila, Galatz, and Focsani was pierced. On the Buzeu road the Russo-Rumanian forces had once more rallied for an energetic stand. For five days the battle raged, (Dec. 23-27, 1916.) It ended in the capture of Rimnicu-Sarat.

On Jan. 5 the Teutonic Allies took Braila, the important Rumanian Danube port which, with Galatz, formed the only Rumanian water communication with Russia after the fall of the Black Sea port Constanza.

Braila, situated in the loop of the Danube, on the river's left bank, has an adequate port and is the most important export harbor for the Wallachian grain. It is, further, the terminus of the railroad lines from Wallachia and Moldavia as well as of the shipping lines from Constantinople and Odessa.

With Braila the south bank of the Sereth also fell to the invaders. The occupation of Focsani, chief bulwark of the Sereth line, sixteen kilometers west of the Sereth River, rendered this line untenable for the combined Russian and Rumanian forces.

The Teutonic advance, in the plan of the defenders, was to be brought to a standstill in front of the strongly fortified Sereth position. The Russians launched a powerful counteroffensive along the twenty-five-kilometer front between Focsani and Fundeni, and, indeed, regained some ground at one point of the line. However, during the course of these battles southeast of Focsani, the left wing of Falkenhayn's Ninth Army pushed forward in the area west of Focsani and reached Odobesti Mountain, whose strongly fortified peak was taken by storm.

This brought Focsani fortress itself under the attackers' flanking fire, which decided the stronghold's fate.

#### *Importance of Focsani*

Focsani is strategically important because of its geographical position and its rail communications, which extend as far as the Bukowina and the capital of that crown land, Czernowitz, and, across the Carpathians, into Transylvania. The city is a station on the railroad Bucharest-Buzeu-Itzkani-Czernowitz. From Focsani the railroad runs first along the Sereth in Northern Moldavia and then turns westward at Suczawa into the Bukowina. About sixty kilometers to the north of Focsani a branch rail runs northwestward through the Carpathian Pass, Gyimes, into Transylvania.

Focsani forms one of the main pivotal points of the great line of operation, Bucharest-Buzeu-Jassy-Czernowitz. It is at the same time the left point of support of the whole fortified Sereth line, which was designed to block the road of invasion

from the area between the Carpathians and the Danube to the north. Focsani, in fact, had been fortified as a point of defense against a possible Russian invasion. The ring of forts, which adjoins the Milcovu River and has a diameter of from six to eight kilometers, surrounds the city to the north and east. To the west there is an opening. Through this opening the victors entered the city.

The right wing of Falkenhayn's army, after completely defeating the defenders in the five days' battle of Jan. 4-8, on a front of twenty-five kilometers, had driven them out of their positions on the east bank of the Putna and subsequently across the Sereth. This meant the piercing of the Sereth front on its southern end, and the consequence is that the Russians are now forced to fall back to the Pruth line.

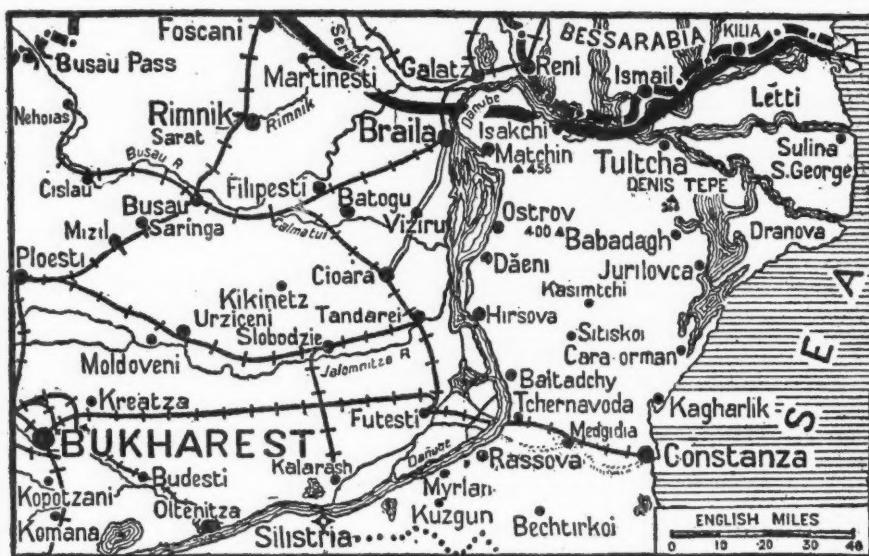
The Teutonic allies' front in Moldavia, Rumania's northern province, now stretches in an almost straight line from northwest to southeast. It comprises:

1. The Gerok army, forming the right wing of the army group under General von Koevess.
2. The army group of Arz von Strausenburg.
3. The army under Krafft von Delmensingen.
4. The army under General von Morgen, which forms the right wing of the Ninth Army and the right of Field Marshal von Mackensen's forces.
5. The Danube army under General Kosch.
6. The Dobrudja army under the Bulgarian General Nezeroff.

The artillery of the Dobrudja army since Jan. 14 has been battering the fortifications and military works of Galatz, as well as the railroad station and the railroad bridge near the city, from the Dobrudja bank of the Danube. This means that the attack against Galatz from the east has begun. To the southwest the Danube army is marching on the city. At this writing (Jan. 15) this army stands some six miles below Galatz, at Vadena.

#### *Fighting on Dvina Front*

The Russians are at present endeavor-



MAP OF EASTERN RUMANIA, SHOWING REGION SWEEPED BY GERMAN ARMIES. THE BLACK LINE INDICATES THE BATTLE FRONT ON JAN. 15, 1917

ing to relieve the irresistible pressure against their Carpathian and Transylvanian fronts by launching attacks at other points of the far-flung battle line in the East.

Winter makes possible an action on a large scale on the Dvina front, where since the disastrous collapse of the Russian Spring offensive in 1916 comparative calm has prevailed.

The new Russian offensive southwest of Riga is, in fact, a repetition of previous efforts. Last Winter Kuropatkin, then in command of the northern end of the Russian western front, tried by similar methods to pierce the German lines, with Mitau as his goal. The failure of this attempt, which had cost the Russians the bloodiest sacrifices, cost Kuropatkin his official head.

The battle area here comprises the swampy terrain extending eastward as far as Riga, southward to Mitau, and westward to Tukkum. Through it flows the Aa, which empties into Babit Lake. The immediate fighting objective is the village of Kalnzem.

The Russian attacks were extended along the Dvina front as far as Lake Narotch, in the district of Dvinsk. Violent artillery duels continue to rage between Riga and Friedrichstadt, and

near Dvinsk a small island in the Dvina was first captured by the Teutons, then retaken by the Muscovites. Through the occupation of this island the Germans had frustrated the Russian plan to break through at that point. When the Russians regained it, the German lines had been so firmly and thoroughly consolidated that every onslaught against them broke down. Mitau, the objective of the Russian offensive, lies on the railroad Riga-Mitau-Libau, which constitutes the main rear communication of the Germans.

From a military standpoint the present operations in the swampy regions of the Aa River cannot be characterized as anything but local enterprises. Last Winter the Russians could not resist the temptation of trying to assume the offensive, taking advantage of the fact that the extreme frost had converted the swamps into firm attacking ground. At that time, too, Hindenburg had withdrawn to the heights circling the region and thence had beaten off all attacks.

According to the official Petrograd report of Jan. 10, the Russians took in the fighting around Babit Lake twenty-one heavy guns and eleven light cannon. But this success, too, is incapable of exerting

any serious influence upon the further development of the Russian offensive on that front. Thus far there has not been the slightest sign of any effect of the Russian Riga offensive upon the situation on the Sereth front. The Rumanian campaign goes on entirely independent of any offensives the Russians may undertake on any other part of the front.

The Russian "feeler" put out against the German lines in the east, with the view to finding a weak spot, was unsuccessful. In spite of the use of powerful effectives in Rumania, the German east front is still strong enough to beat off attacks at any point.

#### *War Conference at Rome*

The Entente Powers recently held a war council in Rome. The importance of the conference is illustrated by the very fact that the British Premier, Lloyd George, personally went to the Tiber city; heretofore the Italian ally had hardly been honored by such attention. As for the plans and decisions of the council, the details are naturally kept secret. It is reported that three main problems were discussed and solved: Greece, the military operations in Macedonia, and a more comprehensive and united conduct of war.

Indications are that the Macedonian front is to be included in the unity of the Entente war conduct. From the latest joint ultimatum to Greece such intention may well be deduced. This

ultimatum aims at the elimination of the Greek army as a possible factor in threatening the allied Saloniki expedition. The Greek army is to be withdrawn from Macedonia and Thessalonica and concentrated in the Peloponnesus, which means that it is to be placed under Entente control.

Should the Allies have really decided upon a concerted campaign in Macedonia, "military expediency" may be named as a basis for the Entente ultimatum. Manifestly the Rome conference discussed the probability of the Teutons' turning their attention to the Macedonian front after the completion of the Rumanian campaign. Such a probability suggests to the Allies to safeguard the rear of their Saloniki expedition.

On the west front there has been comparative calm of late. There was a flare-up of fighting activity, such as the British advance against the German positions at Seres, north of the Ancre. But that was all.

However, from the inflexible confidence which the Entente professes to have in the future, and from their expressed will to carry the war to a successful conclusion, it may be safely asserted that the final decision of the war will fall in the west. For this final decision both sides are now feverishly preparing. All signs point to the bloodiest and last struggle of this terrible conflict on that front in the coming Spring.

#### [AMERICAN VIEW]

## The Month's Military Developments From December 15, 1916, to January 15, 1917

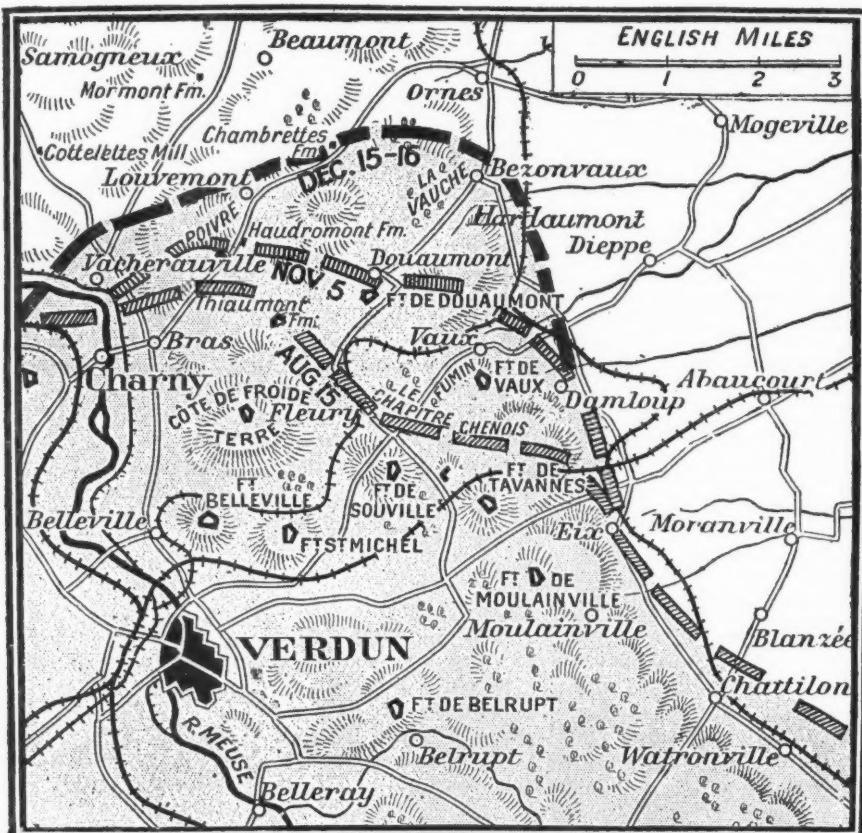
By J. B. W. Gardiner

*Formerly Lieutenant Eleventh United States Cavalry*

DURING the month just passed there have been but three military movements of importance—a French thrust at Verdun, which was entirely successful; the continuance of the German campaign against Rumania, and a sudden blow by the Russians against the

German lines in the Riga sector, the fate of which still hangs in the balance. I have stated these in their chronological order, and probably in the order of their importance.

The French thrust against the German lines before Verdun was a true triumph



**SCENE OF FRENCH VICTORIES ON VERDUN SECTOR. (SEE ALSO ARTICLE ON PAGE 828)**

of French artillery over that of the Germans, and may well be an augury of future fighting on the western front. It is this fact that gives it its importance. If the war is ever fought to a military decision, it is almost axiomatic that the decision must come on the western front. Von Hindenburg, the apostle of a German war in the east, may find in the east excellent opportunities for dramatic, spectacular efforts. Such efforts, by very reason of their spectacular character, will undoubtedly make their appeal both to neutrals and to the German people. But it is not to be gainsaid that this appeal is deceptive.

To judge of the outcome of the great war from the amount of territory conquered is to deceive one's self. The very basis of judgment is wrong, and the judgment itself must be at fault as a consequence. Particularly is this true

when the territory occupied is that of one of the lesser belligerents. Napoleon was before Moscow, and if men had judged from the map there would have been no question as to who was the victor. But a year or two later came the surrender of Paris and the exile of Napoleon to Elba. In the present war we have seen the Germans all but eliminate the Russian Army and occupy Poland as far east as the Pinsk marshes. But the territory gained has not, as far as events have yet determined, given Germany any particular advantage.

Germany is the mainspring of the forces of the Central Powers, and to defeat them the Allies must defeat Germany. On this point there will not be the slightest dispute. The German Army is in the west. A total of 120 divisions have been positively identified on the western front, and it is certain that these

constitute the bulk of the German Army in the field. And as the German Army is in the west, and the German Army must be defeated before the Allies can be victorious, it must also be recognized that the decision, if decision there be, will be found on the western front. Once the western situation is solved, the eastern situation will solve itself. In fact, there will be no eastern question to solve, as there will be an immediate and total collapse the very minute the army in the west is decisively defeated. It is therefore necessary to scan every movement in the west with an attention not necessary of the events of the east if we would frame an opinion of the importance of the various moves.

#### *French Success of Dec. 15-16*

To return to the French attack in the Verdun sector: The object was the ridge of Louvemont. This ridge forms the main defensive line on the east bank of the river. There are individual points south of this ridge which are capable of sustained defense, as the French proved after the Louvemont position fell into German hands; but the only continuous line of defense on the east side of the Meuse is the Louvemont ridge. The French began their attack on Hill 304 on the west bank, but their artillery in the meantime was pounding the German lines across the stream. For three days the artillery kept up its preparation. Then the attack was suddenly shifted to the east bank and the infantry sent forward. Pepper Hill, the most eastern point of the Louvemont ridge, fell into their hands immediately. This success exposed the German gun positions about the village of Louvemont and at the same time brought the German trenches near the town under an enfilade fire from the French infantry. The village was therefore given up and the French infantry swept on. From there they struck due east, and in thirty-six hours took the Farm of Chambrettes and the village of Bezonvaux. Here they rested. Many guns were taken, many others destroyed, and nearly 10,000 unwounded prisoners were left in French hands.

There is ample food for reflection in this attack, as many factors entering

into it are positively known. In the first place there was no material disparity in numbers between the attacking force and that of the defenders. Such as there was, was in German favor. The French used four divisions in the attack, the Germans five in the defense. All elements of terrain were strongly in favor of the defense. And yet so accurate was the fire of the French artillery, and so devastating, that the French infantry were able to seize in less than two days' fighting all that the Germans had taken between Feb. 26 and April 9. We can with small effort recall the ferocity of the fighting that occurred in this sector of the battle of Verdun between those dates, and we know in a general way how very great the German losses were. And yet, with a loss in killed and wounded not equaling the number of prisoners captured, the French have taken away every foot of valuable territory the Germans occupied during those terrible days of last Spring.

The attack was delivered over a front of only six miles, held by nearly 100,000 men, or over 16,000 to the mile. It is perfectly evident then that the German line had not been weakened in order to use the men in other fields. The Germans were outfought man to man and gun to gun. That is the whole thing in a nutshell.

I would call attention particularly to the number of prisoners captured. This number is 10 per cent. of the total force engaged, and the surrender must then have been made rather readily. It has been frequently asserted that the quality of the German soldiers has rapidly deteriorated, that although they fight well under attack, when on defense they are unable to stand the pounding of the allied artillery and infantry as did the soldiers of a year ago. This view seems to be confirmed by recent events at Verdun. Nothing but a serious fall in morale can explain the readiness to surrender which marked this fighting.

As to the military result obtained, it may be summed up in few words. This success restores to the French all the important positions on the east bank of the river, precluding any future attempt by

the Germans to storm the Verdun positions. Immune from attack, the line here may now be the scene of a French offense in the Spring.

### The Situation in Rumania

The close of last month's review saw the Germans and the Russians fighting on the north bank of the Buzeu River. The Germans had just forced the crossing and driven the Rumanians back from their defensive positions on the northern bank. The Germans kept up this pressure relentlessly, extending their movement into Dobrudja so that their line extended from the Transylvanian frontier to the Black Sea. During the month the entire line has moved forward. Dobrudja has been cleared as the first step. A stiff resistance was made, first at Tulcea and later at Macin; but both points eventually fell, and all of Dobrudja passed into German hands. On the western side of the Danube the Russians fell back slowly.

Once the line of the Buzeu was made untenable, the next defensive position that appeared was the line of the Sereth, from its mouth northward as far as the Trotus, and from there to the Transylvanian border. But the Germans were not to reach the Sereth without heavy fighting and great resistance.

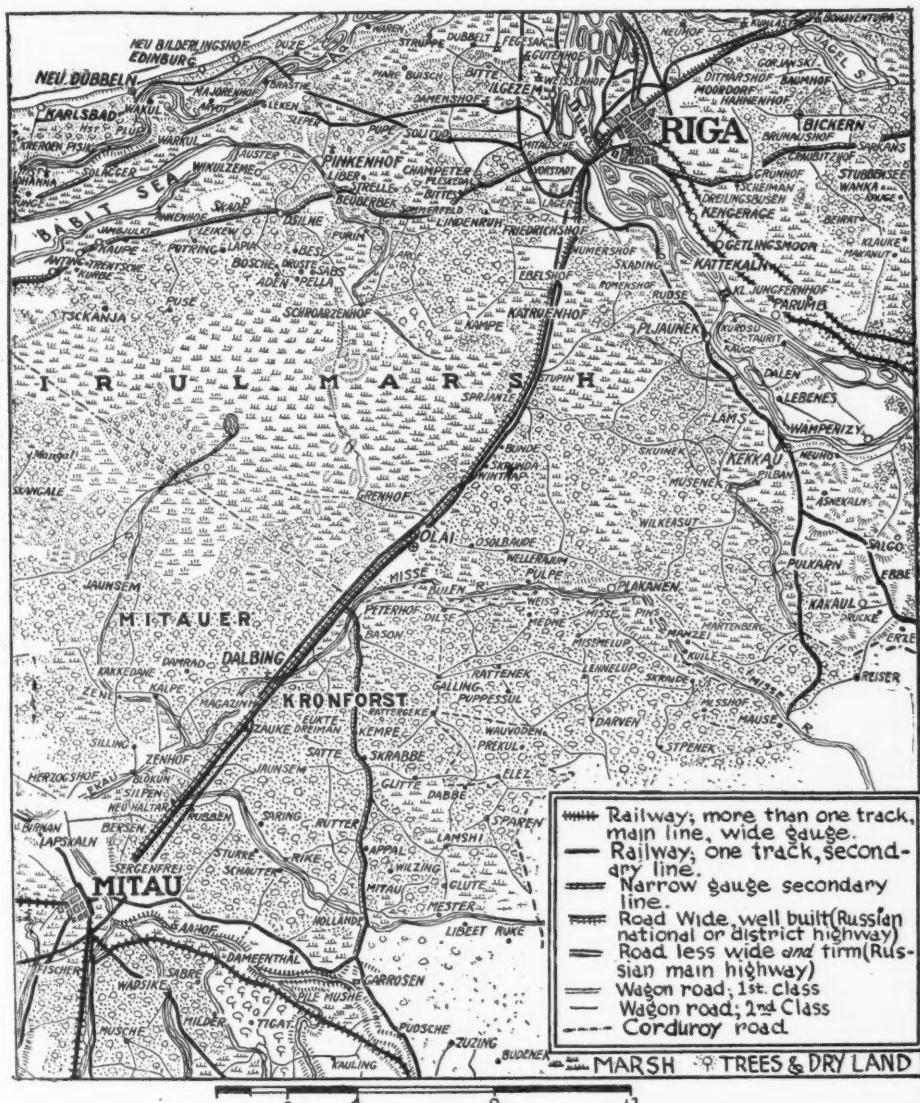
The first line the Russians elected to defend was that of the Rimnicu River. This is a small stream, generally paralleling the course of the Buzeu. It possesses no strength from a defensive standpoint. At the same time, it took the Germans a longer time to force this position than it had the Buzeu. After a week's heavy fighting, however, the river was crossed, and the town of Rimnicu Sarat was taken. The Russians retired further northward toward the eventual position. In their retirement they pivoted on the Danube, where their left flank rested at a point some distance south of Braila.

The complete conquest of Dobrudja, however, exposed the Russian left to a fire from three directions. From the eastern side of the Danube it was under fire from the flank and rear. From the west bank it was facing the German trenches. It became necessary then to

draw back the left, as had been done with the centre and right. Accordingly Braila was abandoned and the retirement toward the north bank of the Sereth began. In the meantime the German centre was pushing northward, and finally took the important village of Foscani. But here the advance was checked. Along the Putna River fierce fighting developed. The Russians were attempting to prevent the forward movement of the German left, which was striving to throw the Russians first across this stream, after which there was in view the Oituz, and finally the Trotus River. But the Putna has proved a serious intermediate stumbling block. The Germans have crossed it twice, but each time have been thrown back to the southern bank. As far as can be judged from present reports the Russians still hold the northern bank safely.

### Crucial Line on the Sereth

Returning to the situation at the mouth of the Sereth: On this part of the line the Russians have reached the position which it is absolutely necessary to defend. Vadeni, near the bend in the Danube, has fallen, and the Germans are before Galatz, but on the south side of the Sereth. The difficulties which the Germans have experienced on the smaller streams indicate that either the German attack is losing its force or the Russians have been considerably strengthened. The latter is by far the more probable. The speed of the Rumanian collapse undoubtedly took Russia unawares, just as it did the rest of the world. There was not sufficient time to throw into Rumania a large enough army, with its artillery equipment, to make a material impression on the German attack. But when it was seen that the retirement was to be on a large scale, another position was selected nearer the Russian bases, where the distances to be covered were considerably less. There has been full time to prepare this position for defense and to equip it with artillery supplies. Just what this line may be is not certain, but the probability is that it is the line of the Sereth and the Trotus. Here, then, if at all, we may expect to see the German drive come to an abrupt halt.



SCENE OF NEW RUSSIAN OFFENSIVE IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF RIGA AND THE DVINA RIVER

The third important move of the month has been the Russian attempt to advance in the Riga district. This movement is still in full swing as this review closes. Up to the present time it has been moderately successful.

Considerable ground has been gained and a number of heavy guns taken,

showing that the Russians have reached some of the German main positions. The Russian object is the great German base of Mitau, the only base in this region.

The other fronts have remained inactive during the month by reason of the advent of Winter.

# The Situation in Greece

**T**WO more ultimatums have been presented by the Entente Allies to King Constantine and the Greek Government since that of Dec. 14, (see CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, January, 1917, pp. 632-634.) The root of the trouble lies in the fact that King Constantine and his Government are believed by the Entente Allies to be waiting for an opportunity to attack the allied army in Macedonia. On the other hand, King Constantine's grievances against the Entente are that it is supporting the revolutionary movement which—with M. Venizelos, ex-Premier and pro-Entente leader at its head—has set up a Provisional, or National, Government at Saloniki, and that the Allies are unjustly blockading all Greece except Saloniki and the islands which are now under the control of the Venizelist Government or occupied by the Allies. The extent of the blockade is shown in the order published in the Journal Officiel, Paris, Dec. 8:

The French Republic, being in agreement with its allies in declaring a blockade of Greece, herewith announces the conditions under which it will take place. The blockade is declared to be effective from Dec. 8, 1916, at 8 o'clock in the morning.

The blockade applies to the coasts of Greece, including the islands of Euboea, Zante, and Santa Maura, from a point situated 39.20 degrees north latitude and 20.20 degrees east of Greenwich, to a point situated 39.50 degrees north latitude and 22.50 degrees east of Greenwich, as well as the islands at present under the dependency or occupation of the Greek royalist authorities.

Ships of neutral powers in the blockaded ports may come out freely until Dec. 10, at 8 o'clock in the morning. Orders have been given to the Commander in Chief of the naval forces which are taking charge of the blockade to inform the local authorities of the present declaration.

After the Greek Government had presented a note on Dec. 18 protesting against the allied naval authorities aiding the extension of the revolutionary movement and after the Entente had insisted that the movement was justified by the fact that a majority of the populations of the Greek islands had voluntarily transferred their allegiance from

the Royal to the National Government, the Allies took the most drastic step up to date by presenting their third ultimatum. Signed by the representatives of the three protecting powers, (Great Britain, France, and Russia,) and presented on Dec. 31, it reads:

The representatives of the powers guaranteeing Greece, having received with satisfaction the reply made to their communication of Dec. 1, 1916, have the honor to present to the Greek Government, by order of their Governments, the following demands for guarantee and reparation:

1. Guarantees: The Greek forces in Continental Greece, in Euboea, and generally in all the territories situated outside the Peloponnesus, shall be reduced to the number of men absolutely necessary to retain order and for the police. All armaments and munitions exceeding those corresponding to this force shall be transported to the Peloponnesus, as well as all machine guns and artillery of the Greek Army with their ammunition, so that, once the transportation has been effected, there shall not remain any artillery, machine guns, or mobilization material outside the Peloponnesus.

The period for the execution of these directions shall be settled in common accord as soon as the Greek Government has accepted in principle the removal of the troops and war material. The military situation thus established shall be maintained as long as the allied Governments deem it necessary, under the supervision of delegates specially accredited by them for this purpose to the Greek authorities.

2. Prohibition of all meetings and all assemblies of reservists in Greece north of the Isthmus of Corinth, and the rigorous enforcement of the measure prohibiting all civilians from carrying arms.

3. Restoration of the various allied controls in the form which shall be determined in agreement with the Hellenic Government in order to render them as little embarrassing as possible.

4. Reparation: All persons at present detained, whether for political reasons or on charges of high treason, plotting sedition, or similar offenses, shall be immediately released. Those who may have unjustly suffered in consequence of the events of Dec. 1 and 2 and the following days shall be indemnified after inquiries have been made by agreement between the Hellenic Government and the Governments of the Allies.

5. The command of the First Army Corps shall be removed unless the Royal Government establishes to the satisfaction of the allied Governments that such measure should be applied to some other General on whom

## RE-EDUCATING A MAIMED SOLDIER



A Crippled Belgian Soldier Learning to Make Lace Under  
the Patient Guidance of an Elderly Belgian Woman

*(Central News Photo Service.)*

## FRENCH WAR CRIPPLES AT WORK



One-Armed and One-Legged,  
Yet an Expert Die Maker



Wielding a Shovel with  
Artificial Hands



Efficient Despite the Loss of  
His Right Arm



He Can Wield the Pick with  
Skill and Force

responsibility should fall for the order given on Dec. 1.

6. The Greek Government shall present formal apologies to the Ministers of the Allies, and the British, French, Italian, and Russian flags shall be formally saluted in a public square in Athens in the presence of the Minister of War and the assembled garrison.

At the same time the undersigned Ministers are charged by their Governments to remind the Greek Government that military necessities may lead them shortly to land troops at Itea and take them to Saloniki by the Larissa Railway.

The guaranteeing powers inform the Greek Government that they reserve to themselves full liberty of action in the event of the attitude of the Government of his Majesty the King subsequently giving them further subjects of complaint.

On their part they formally pledge themselves to the Hellenic Government not to permit armed forces of the Government of National Defense to profit by the retirement of the royal troops from Thessaly and Epirus to cross the neutral zone established in agreement with the Greek Government.

In bringing the foregoing to the cognizance of the Royal Government the undersigned have the honor to inform it by order of their Governments that the blockade of the Greek coasts will be maintained until satisfaction has been accorded on all the points indicated above.

King Constantine's Government refused to concede all these demands, but expressed its willingness to discuss those it could not accept. The general decision of the Government, after the King had on Jan. 4 consulted various advisers, including former Premiers, was not to declare war on the Entente, but to submit passively to all coercion, relying upon the Allies eventually recognizing that they were inflicting an unmerited punishment by maintaining the blockade.

The partial rejection of the ultimatum of Dec. 31 was regarded by the Allies as a fresh move to gain time, as the real key to the situation is the military position in Macedonia. The Allies' view is that until the Germans are able to advance to a point where King Constantine's army can link up with them, the royalists are trying to play a waiting game, since they are not strong enough to carry on the struggle alone. Hence the importance attached by the Allies to the evacuation of Thessaly by King Constantine's troops.

The fourth ultimatum came as the result of the Allies' continued dissatisfaction

with the tactics of the Greek Government. This ultimatum was drafted by the Allied War Council, then sitting in Rome, and was due to the decision of Premiers Lloyd George and Briand to impart fresh vigor to the handling of the Greek situation. An important development at this point was that Italy now came into full agreement with Great Britain, France, and Russia in regard to the whole course of action in the Balkan Peninsula. The ultimatum, which was handed to the Athens Government on Jan. 9, gave King Constantine forty-eight hours to comply fully with the demands made in the previous ultimatum of Dec. 31. At the same time the Allies guaranteed that in the event of compliance there should be no extension of the revolutionary movement. On Jan. 10 the Greek reply was delivered, but once more there were reservations, the principal ones being that the control of the Entente Allies should be re-established only for the security of their armies and that they should not participate in the administration of the country or interfere with local communications, and that the release of the imprisoned Venizelists should be subject to discussion.

Meanwhile, in accordance with the agreement of Dec. 1, King Constantine began delivering to the Allies six batteries of mountain artillery and withdrawing his troops from Thessaly. But again the Allies were not satisfied, and through the Italian Minister in Athens the Greek Government was informed that the acceptance of all demands must be immediate and unqualified. Finally, it was announced in Athens on Jan. 15 that the Greek Government would yield completely and without reservation. The same day the occupation by the Allies of Cerigo, the southernmost of the Ionian Islands, was reported. The formal decision of the Greek Government to yield was taken at a meeting of the Crown Council on Jan. 16, and was immediately communicated to the Entente Ministers. The Venizelists imprisoned on Dec. 1 were released a day or two later. On Jan. 16 an Italian military mission arrived at Athens to participate in the Entente control of Greece.

# Greece Betrayed by Her Rulers

## A Documented Indictment

The "secret" documents printed below were published in an incomplete form by the Venizelist press, but were unearthed in their entirety by the *Petit Parisien*. They show the attitude taken by the Skouloudis Cabinet regarding the Bulgarian invaders, on the one hand, and regarding the Allies on the other. The army chiefs were ordered to act in a friendly manner toward the Bulgarians who were invading Greece, and even to surrender territory to them everywhere. These documents are of added interest because the Entente partially based its demands on the fact that Greece had handed over the forts of Rupel and Krousovitsiko to the Bulgarians. The article here translated appeared in the *Nouvelles de France*, which is edited by Paul Albert Helmer.

**A**FTER the surrender of Rupel Prime Minister Skouloudis pretended that the appearance of the Bulgarians had been entirely unexpected, and that neutral Greece could do nothing but give up the fort. Nevertheless, two months and more before that time the following order had been given:

MINISTRY OF WAR.  
No. 663 of the Registry.  
[Confidential.]

Athens, March 9, 1916.

(*Absolutely confidential to the commanders of the Third and Fourth Army Corps, stationed at Saloniki and Kavala, in the Province of Macedonia.*)

In case of invasion by hostile armies we order the troops in garrison to evacuate the forts and fall back on the position of their regiments, taking their war materials with them. The sectors in which the invasion probably will take place are the district of Doiran-Guevgueli, the valley of Strymon between Bolech and Tongelion (?) and the region of Karajova. As regards the Strymon Valley, we suppose it is a matter of the southern defiles. [The Bulgarian invasion came exactly that way.] The troops will concentrate at Demir-Hissar and Poroia.

As to the attitude to be observed if the Bulgarians are not accompanied by Germans, I reply that the thing is impossible. But, if such a situation should occur, avoid all engagements and ask for orders.

The present order concerns all the forts. For the moment it applies only to Dovatope, Rupel and Krousovitsiko. In each of these a section of infantry and a few artillerymen will remain in order to symbolize Greek sovereignty. Likewise at least two officers knowing German or French ought to remain. Among the men it will be necessary that some should know Bulgarian. These detachments will communicate with the Greek divisions by reports. They ought to make every effort to avoid arousing suspicions or attracting espionage upon themselves.

The gendarmeri of the evacuated district will remain in its place, falling back, in case of necessity, upon the forts. It must be well

understood that, painful as the execution of this order may be, all must obey the will of the Government in order to safeguard the highest national interests.

IANNAKITSAS.

A little later, when it was known that the French troops, intercepting the Bulgarians, were going to occupy Rupel, the following order was given:

MINISTRY OF WAR.  
No. 1228 of the Registry.  
[Confidential.]

Athens, April 27, 1916.

To All the Garrison Troops:

Order 663 has not had time to be put into practice. The forts, with the exception of Dovatope, will resist by force every foreign attempt to take control of them. If the Germans or Bulgarians insist on penetrating for reasons of self-defense into our territory, you must retire. Act in a friendly manner toward the Bulgarians, in order to avoid all conflict. Avoid provocations. If by chance a long engagement occurs, the army corps have orders not to undertake any general measures, but should ask for further orders.

IANNAKITSAS.

At the time of the Bulgarian invasion, May 13, 1916, the following order was issued:

[Telegram.]  
MINISTRY OF WAR.  
No. 1484 of the Registry.  
[Confidential.]

Athens, May 13, 1916.

Sixth Division, Seres:

In reply to your report No. 1451 and to report No. 3403 of the Third Army Corps, apply my order No. 663, deferring the execution of Order 1,228. Send a protest to the German troops.

[Signed] IANNAKITSAS.

(It should be noted, however, that the fort, in execution of the preceding order, had already fired twenty-four shells at the Bulgars. Upon receipt of the later order the resistance ceased.)

After the surrender of Rupel the following order was given:

[Telegram.]

MINISTRY OF WAR.  
No. 1511 of the Registry.

[Confidential.]

Athens, May 14, 1916.

*To All Garrison Troops:*

In cases where communications are cut off and the receipt or orders becomes impossible, Order No. 663 must be acted upon along the whole frontier.

[Signed] IANNAKITSAS.

For the surrender of Fort Krousovitsiko, which did not take place until August, the following order was given on May 15:

[Telegram.]

MINISTRY OF WAR.  
No. 1522 of the Registry.

[Confidential.]

Athens, May 15, 1916.

*Sixth Division, Seres:*

Quietly evacuate Fort Krousovitsiko, even though there may be no question of its immediate occupation.

[Signed] IANNAKITSAS.

After receiving a report from the division at Seres, announcing that the Bulgarians demanded the railway station at Siderokastron, the following order was given:

No. 1631 of the Registry.

[Confidential.]

Athens, May 15, 1916.

*Sixth Division, Seres:*

Tell the Germano-Bulgarians that the railway station at Siderokastron is not included in the agreement with the German and Bulgarian Governments. They should, therefore, await the result of negotiations.

Meanwhile, limit yourself to allowing a small detachment to guard the station, a battle being imminent between the Germano-Bulgarians and the Anglo-French. Inquire the meaning of this measure in order to keep up the morale of the men.

[Signed] IANNAKITSAS.

It should be noted that the Sixth Division did not execute this order faithfully. Having strongly guarded the station, it threatened the Bulgarians, and they renounced their demands regarding it.

Regarding the surrender of Rupel the following official report (translated from the German) was prepared:

Fort Rupel, May 14-27, 1916.

The commandant of the fort, Ioannis Mavroudis, Colonel of infantry, has surrendered the fort to the German cavalry (Captain Thiel) with the following war materials:

Two 15-centimeter guns.

Two 7.5 guns with 800 shells.

1,200,000 rifle cartridges.

6,500 "phountia" (cubic decimeters) of powder.

350 "phountia" of sugar.

150 "phountia" of butter and other provisions.

Delivered by Io. Mavroudis. Taken in charge by Thiel, Rittmeister.

The Sixth Division, in its reports Nos. 1676, 1695, and 1993, announced that "the Bulgarians were maltreating the villagers, beating and driving away the local police, trampling under foot the Greek flag." In reply the Chief of Staff, Dousmanis, transmitted to it the following order:

[Telegram.]

Office of the General Staff.

Athens, May 16, 1916.

*Sixth Division, Seres:*

The facts in question concern the Governments, which have taken measures and are not disturbed, and not the armies. Avoid all friction.

[Signed] DOUSMANIS.

On Aug. 17, when the Sixth Division wished to hinder the occupation of Seres by the Bulgarians and to co-operate with the French army, the Fourth Army Corps sent the following order:

[Telegram.]

No. 2995 of the Registry.

[Confidential.]

*Sixth Division, Seres:*

The Government absolutely forbids all resistance to the Bulgarians. I absolutely forbid all action in common with the French. Evacuate Seres and march to Eleutherias.

Commandant of the Corps,  
I. HATZOPoulos,

Lieutenant Colonel.

On Aug. 25, after defensive measures had been taken at Kavala, Lieut. Col. Hatzopoulos gave the following order:

No. 3274 of the Registry.

[Confidential.]

*To All the Corps in the District:*

On receipt of this order, call in your outposts, leaving to the Bulgarians the circular region of the forts. I order likewise that all suspicious measures of foreigners should be reported. The Bulgarians should be left free to dig all defensive works.

Commandant of the Corps,

I. HATZOPoulos.

Kavala, Aug. 25, 1916.

Things were at this stage when the Bulgarians, on Aug. 28, demanded the occupation of Kavala and the withdrawal of the Greek garrison to the interior.

#### *How the Trap Was Laid*

On Nov. 14 General Roques, French Minister of War, was received by King

Constantine and asked him to give proofs of his friendship for the Allies, notably by transferring artillery to them. The King referred General Roques to the Ministry presided over by Professor Lambros.

On Nov. 16 Admiral Dartige du Fournet sent to the Athens Government a note in which he demanded the transfer to the Allies of a certain quantity of war material which the Greek Army was not using. It was a matter of eighteen field batteries and sixteen mountain batteries, with a thousand shells for each, besides 40,000 Männlicher rifles with 200 cartridges for each, 140 machine guns with their munitions, and fifty automobile trucks.

On the 21st, before the Greek Government had replied, Admiral du Fournet, obtaining proofs of espionage and other acts of war on the part of the enemy legations, demanded that they depart the next day. On the 22d the German, Austrian, Turkish, and Bulgarian Ministers, accompanied by their personnel, left Athens without incident on the steamer Mykali, proceeding to Kavala, where they were to meet the Bulgarian troops.

The same day the Athens Government responded with a refusal to the note of Admiral du Fournet, which had demanded a surrender of war materials. It declared that such action would constitute a violation of neutrality, and that public opinion would not permit the national defense to be thus weakened.

At the same time M. Venizelos called attention to the fact that the persecution of his followers continued in Thessaly. Those who had been imprisoned at Grevena, having appealed to the court at Larissa, had seen their sentences confirmed at the demand of the Public Ministry, which proclaimed that joining the Venizelist troops to fight the Bulgars was an act of high treason toward the Government of King Constantine.

On Nov. 23 the correspondent of The London Times at Athens telegraphed:

The rumor runs that the officers have signed a declaration by which they bind themselves, on their word of honor, to op-

pose the delivery of arms; but the diplomatic circles are optimistic, and are convinced that the King will avoid complications.

#### *The Admiral's Ultimatum*

Admiral du Fournet addressed an ultimatum on Nov. 24 to the Athens Government, summoning it to deliver to the Allies ten mountain batteries on Dec. 1 and the rest of the material demanded by Dec. 15. If these conditions were not complied with appropriate measures would be taken on Dec. 1. To make the Entente's intentions perfectly clear, the correspondent of The Times telegraphed the following passage from the Admiral's note:

The location of the war material which I demand is not in the military storehouse but on the front at Monastir, in Macedonia, where the destinies of the Balkan States are going to be decided. This is what it is necessary to repeat to the patriots who have Hellenism for their sole ideal, an ideal which the protective powers have more closely at heart than any other.

Immediately after receiving this note the President of the Council, M. Lambros, gave the information to the King, who convoked the Council of Ministers and then conferred with Generals Callaris, Sotilis, and Iannakitsas. The same day the Gounaris newspaper Neon Asty declared that whatever the decision of the Government might be, the officers of the army had bound themselves to resist the surrender of arms at any cost, declaring that they would not hesitate at any act.

Still on the same day, Nov. 24, the Nea Hellas declared that on the 19th certain officers gathered at the Military Club had decided to revive the Military League under the command of a General. The object was to prevent any delivery of arms. Several officers had volunteered to go into the mountains of Thessaly with regular troops and reservists in order to harass the Allies from that point of vantage and thus force them to abandon Venizelos and withdraw from the Balkans. The Patris announced that the soldiers in the barracks were being incited, that the reservists were being armed, and that in Athens and the provinces the elements

always ready for disorder were being enrolled for an organized resistance.

The same day it was learned at Athens that the Venizelos Government had declared war on Bulgaria and Germany.

On Nov. 26 a detachment of about 200 French marines disembarked and joined the detachment already quartered in the barracks of the Zappeion, (a public garden belonging to the City of Athens.) It replaced marines who had recently gone on board again.

#### *Greece Defies the Ultimatum*

The Ministers, after deliberating in council, declared that the Government would again refuse the surrender of arms. Professor Lambros, President of the Council, when asked regarding the rumors of his resignation, declared that he continued to possess the confidence of the King and would remain in power.

The Nea Hellas announced that the Directing Committee of the Reservist League, recently revived, had conferred in the preceding week at the Military Club with the Presidents of the professional associations, in order to obtain their support in the resistance that was to be offered to the allied demands. The committee distributed arms to the members of the league. A partisan of M. Venizelos had been seriously maltreated the evening before.

The Ministers of France and England demanded of M. Lambros the immediate dissolution of the Military League and the suppression of the agitation organized by the reservists. They likewise demanded the liberation of the Venezelist officers, who were still held in prison by the Athens Government.

On the 27th Admiral du Fournet was received by King Constantine and directed the King's attention to the gravity of the situation. The Admiral also asked for an explanation regarding the works that were being constructed on the neighboring hills, overlooking the barracks of the Zappeion, where the French marines were quartered. He received the reply that these works were not fortifications.

#### *Preparing the Ambush*

A telegram from Larissa recounted

grave events that had taken place when an attempt had been made to remove the guns placed in the railway station in that city. Reservists seized the two pieces, dismounted them, and removed them to a public garden, where a demonstration was held against the Allies with an accompaniment of rifle shots. The crowd then took the cannon to the commandant of the Third Army Corps, who had sworn not to surrender them to the Allies.

Likewise on the 27th the correspondent of *The Times* telegraphed:

The situation remains critical. This morning Admiral du Fournet visited several stores in Hermes Street belonging to Venizelists. He noted that during the night these stores, in common with numerous houses inhabited by Venizelists, had been marked with red circles. If the threats of attack and massacre uttered against the Venizelists are realized even in part, and if no help intervenes in time, the result will be the weakening, if not the immediate crushing, of the Venizelist Party, whose members have cause to fear for their lives.

On Nov. 28 the Crown Council was convened by the King to draw up the definitive terms of the reply to Admiral du Fournet's ultimatum. The Reuter Agency telegraphed on this subject:

The Crown Council, presided over by the King, deliberated for an hour and a half this afternoon. The council decided that it could not oppose the decision which the Government had already taken regarding the delivery of arms demanded by Admiral du Fournet. This decision has been communicated to Admiral du Fournet and to the Ministers of the Entente.

On Nov. 30 the Royal Government caused to be published in the newspapers of Athens a memorandum announcing its determination not to keep the promise made to the Allies by King Constantine. At the same time the threats against the Venizelists became more definite, and there arose an urgent need to stop the organization of a massacre, even before thinking of taking away the guns from the royal troops. That is why, on the morning of Dec. 1, 1,200 French marines disembarked at Piraeus, where the people welcomed them with the usual sympathy, and marched to the Zappeion, which is situated on the avenue leading up from

Piraeus and in the immediate proximity of the most crowded section of Athens. There Admiral Dartige du Fournet also was stationed.

The aggression began in the afternoon. The artillery of the royal troops fired on the Zappeion several times, while the fire of the infantry and machine guns harassed the French marines until late in the evening. An intense panic

was created in the streets of Athens, where all the stores were closed and where the Venizelists feared, not without reason, for their lives. Not until later was the exact number of victims of the royal troops known.

The casualties were estimated at 200. The story of the events immediately succeeding was told in the January CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

## Turkey's Declaration of Independence Text of the Document

**T**URKEY declared her independence of the collective suzerainty of Great Britain, France, Italy, Russia, Germany, and Austria-Hungary in a long official document received in Washington on Jan. 1, 1917, and addressed to the Governments of Turkey's present allies, Germany and Austria-Hungary. In this form the Turkish Government serves notice to the world that it regards the treaties of 1856 and 1878 as henceforth null and void, and that it has abolished the special status of the Liva of Lebanon, which had been created by the Turkish laws of 1861 and 1864 as a semi-autonomous province under a Christian Governor. The Consuls General of the various Christian powers stationed at Beirut have exercised under those laws a species of supervision over the Liva of Lebanon, a region inhabited principally by Maronite Christians who formerly were an independent denomination, but who now are affiliated with the Roman Catholic Church.

### *Text of the Communication*

The text of the Turkish communication to the Berlin and Vienna Governments follows:

The Imperial Ottoman Government had occasion in the course of the second half of the last century to sign, under various circumstances, two important treaties, of Paris of March 10, 1856, and the one of Berlin of Aug. 3, 1878.

The first established a state of affairs, an equilibrium, which the second treaty destroyed to a great extent, but both were disregarded by the signatory powers themselves, who violated their promises, either openly

or secretly, so that after having obtained the application of the clauses which were to the disadvantage of the Otoman Empire, they did not trouble themselves about those which were in its favor, and they even opposed them constantly.

The Treaty of Paris contained a stipulation "to respect the independence and territorial integrity of the Otoman Empire," and to guarantee jointly "the strict observation of this agreement." It further excluded all interference in the relations of the Imperial Government "with its subjects and with the internal administration of the empire."

This did not prevent the French Government from exercising in the Ottoman Empire an intervention supported by armed force, and to exact the establishment of a new administration. The other signatory powers were then obliged to associate themselves diplomatically with this act so as not to leave France free in her designs, which were contrary to the above-mentioned stipulations of the Treaty of Paris, and gave rise to fears of aims of annexation.

On the other hand, the Russian Government embarked upon a similar line of conduct by preventing the Sublime Porte in an ultimatum from taking action against the principalities of Serbia and Montenegro which Russia had aroused, and to whom it did not fail to furnish arms, subsidies, officers, and even soldiers, and finally to declare war on the Ottoman Empire, after having demanded that a new internal administration be established in certain Ottoman provinces, and that foreign interference enter into the conduct of their public affairs.

Moreover, the above-mentioned clauses of the Treaty of Paris did not hinder the French Government from occupying Tunis and establishing a protectorate over this dependence of the empire; nor did it prevent the British Government from occupying Egypt and establishing effective domination, nor from making a series of encroachments of Ottoman sovereignty south of Yemen at Nedjid, at Koweit, at El Katr, as well as in the Per-

sian Gulf; nor did these provisions inconvenience the four Governments who are now at war with Turkey in modifying by force the status of the Island of Crete and in creating there a new situation in flagrant contradiction with the integrity which they had undertaken to respect.

Finally Italy had no scruples in declaring war on the Ottoman Empire without any serious reason, simply with the object of conquest and to obtain compensations as a result of the new political situation in North Africa, and it did not even trouble to comply with its promise that it would "before using force enable the contracting parties to prevent such extreme measures by mediation."

The above makes it unnecessary to enumerate still more circumstances when intervention in the internal affairs of the Ottoman Empire took place.

The Treaty of Berlin, which was signed as a result of the events of 1877-1878, modified considerably the Treaty of Paris by creating new situations in European Turkey; these situations were afterward changed by further conventions, which annulled the stipulations of the international convention referred to.

But not long after the conclusion of this treaty the Russian Government showed the degree of its respect for its own promises. Not having conquered Batoum, it had only been able to annex this fortress by declaring in a solemn international clause its intention to transform it into an essentially commercial free port. The British Government had on this basis consented to renew certain arrangements.

However, the Cabinet of St. Petersburg, after having realized its intentions, simply repudiated this article of the treaty, and made of said city a fortified place. The British Government did not take a single one of the measures which it had promised, thus showing how little importance it attached to the system established by the Treaty of Berlin.

The Imperial Ottoman Government carried out very scrupulously the onerous clauses of the treaty, but the few provisions inserted therein in its favor have remained a dead letter, in spite of its insistence and that of its creditors, owing to the interest which a certain power had in preventing all improvement in the fate of the Ottoman Empire.

The developments set forth show that the Treaties of Paris and Berlin were constantly being violated in their essential and general clauses by certain States which had signed them. But it cannot be conceived that the same international convention should be violated as regards the duties of one of the contracting parties when all provisions in favor of the latter are invariably disregarded. This fact alone renders it already null and void for said party.

Moreover, the situation in which the two above-mentioned treaties were signed has completely changed. The Imperial Ottoman

Government is at war with four of the signatory powers, the powers on whose initiative and assistance, and in whose interest said conventions were concluded, a fact which annuls them absolutely as regards the relations between Turkey and those powers.

Furthermore, the Imperial Government has allied itself with two of these powers on a footing of entire equality.

Hence the Ottoman Empire has definitely abandoned its somewhat subordinate position under the collective guardianship of the great powers which some of the latter were interested in maintaining. It therefore enters the group of European powers with all the rights and prerogatives of an entirely independent Government. This new situation also removes all *raison d'être* for the above-mentioned treaties.

All these different considerations render the said conventions null and without any contractual value. Nevertheless, in order not to allow any doubts on this point in the minds of those contracting States who have changed their relation of friendship into an alliance, the Imperial Government has the honor to inform the Imperial Government of Germany and the Imperial and Royal Government of Austria-Hungary that it denounces said treaties of 1856 and 1878.

It deems it useful, however, to declare that it will not fail to appeal to the principles of international law in order to have these rights respected which had been stipulated in its favor by the above-mentioned treaties and which until now have been disregarded.

On the other hand, the Imperial Government, under pressure of the French, had to grant to the Liva of the Lebanon an autonomous organization of a purely administrative and limited nature, which admitted a certain participation of the great powers.

Although this state of affairs was created by the internal statutes of 1861 and 1864, and not by a formal treaty, yet, in order to avoid all misunderstanding on this subject, it believes it necessary to declare that for the reasons set forth above it has abolished this situation by establishing in the said Liva the same administrative mechanism which exists in the other parts of the empire.

Whether Turkey's declaration of her "entire equality" with the other States of Europe ever goes into actual effect or not will depend, of course, upon the outcome of the war. The attempted abrogation of her dependence upon the Entente Powers simply represents a part of what Turkey hopes to win from the war if the Central Powers are successful. The action is interpreted as meaning that Germany and Austria-Hungary have agreed, as part of the price for Turkey's assist-

ance to remove the old restrictions from their present ally, so far as they are themselves concerned; it follows that if they can dictate the terms of peace at the end of the war Turkey will have a full voice at the council table. If the Entente Allies dictate the terms, however, they will pay little attention to the Turkish proclamation.

The peace conference also will determine the status of the "capitulation treaties" which Turkey abrogated on Aug. 11, 1914, three months or more before she entered the war. These treaties allowed foreign delinquents on Turkish soil to be tried by Judges, diplomatic

agents, or Consuls of their own nations. A month later, Sept. 10, the Porte added to the abrogated list the remaining series of conventions, treaties, and privileges, some originating as early as the eleventh century, whereby foreigners in the Ottoman Empire had been exempt from local jurisdiction in civil and criminal cases.

Several new treaties between Germany and Turkey were signed on Jan. 15, 1917, by representatives of the two nations at Berlin. "The treaties," according to the semi-official announcement, "are based on the idea of reciprocity and mutual acknowledgment of equal rights, and take the place of the capitulations."

## War Relief Activities of France

Address by Ernest Lavisse at the Annual Meeting of the French Academy, Dec. 15, 1916

M. Lavisse, Director of the Académie Française, summarized the war charity work of France at the annual meeting of the Academy, when "Prizes for Acts of Virtue" were conferred on thirty-seven persons and societies. The main portions of his address are here translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

OUR soldiers, writing home from the war front, express astonishment at hearing the birds still singing amid the turmoil of battle; at seeing the grass bend to the breath of the wind, and nature keeping her beauties and graces amid the horror of human actions. In like manner there continue to flourish in our tormented land, glorious with sanguinary glories, the exquisite virtues which we salute each year with our tributes. Women—almost always poor—teachers from public or private schools, workingwomen, domestics, are performing miracles of filial piety, of devotion, and of charity.

Servants, faithful to their masters in spite of misfortune, continue to serve them without pay, and even aid them by the sacrifice of savings slowly amassed, for the payment of the employers' debts: one of them is raising seven children left by her dead masters. An octogenarian servant of an octogenarian curate is bringing up five orphans. A widow, the mother of three children, has taken the

care of six minor orphans, her nephews and nieces. A mother of thirteen children has extended her maternal protection over fifteen orphans. These brave people are doing good without effort, as naturally as they breathe. Everything is simple for them, because they have simple hearts. One feels that they are tranquil and satisfied. Blessed, indeed, are the simple of heart, for to them belongs happiness on earth!

Our secretary will announce the thirty-seven laureates of our individual prizes for virtue. I am sorry not to be able here either to proclaim their names or to praise them as justice would require, and as my emotion would have dictated when I read the story of their deeds. My task is long, and I must hasten on to the extensive labors which the Academy has rewarded, seeking to make you realize at least the principal characteristic of each.

### The Geneva Committee

The International Committee of the Red Cross, an agency for prisoners of

war, has its base at Geneva, and is presided over by a good man, a friend of France, M. Ador. He began his work in August, 1914, in a little place lent by an atheneum; today he occupies a palace placed at his disposal by the city, and fills it to overflowing. Twelve hundred men and women of Geneva work there, for the most part voluntarily and without pay. From all the belligerent countries the committee receives requests for information: a family seeks some one who has disappeared: "Where is he?" Geneva starts an inquiry and replies: "He is in such and such a place." The family insists, wants details; one mother asks, "Does he look well?" Alas, it is too often necessary to convey fatal news; the relatives wish to know toward what place to address their looks and their prayers; they ask, "Where is he buried?"

Through Geneva passes the correspondence between the families and the prisoners; also the parcels. The committee visits the prison camps and reports what it has seen. It interns in Switzerland the severely wounded. It sends home the civilians whom the Germans, after having torn them from their native soil by one of the most odious crimes of barbarism, consents to release. Geneva has seen the arrival of thousands of these unfortunates, worn out with fatigue and suffering; haggard eyes betrayed the folly of a few. Geneva has given them food, and then flowers, and the tears of its fraternal compassion.

The committee has organized its enormous work with a wonderful system; everything goes with the accuracy of a Swiss watch. On Dec. 31, 1915, 1,500,000 Anglo-French letters relating to cases had been filed and classified, besides 1,000,000 German cases; it was estimated that the committee had received from 1,500 to 2,000 letters a day and that it had sent out daily from 3,000 to 4,000. It had transmitted 1,530,000 orders; 15,850,000 parcels had passed through its hands; 337,181 had been sent from Geneva. These figures were compiled a year ago. Imagine what a sum of good deeds these totals represent. In awarding to the Geneva Committee one

of its largest prizes this year, the Académie Française has sought to express the gratitude of France.

#### *Aid for Ill and Wounded*

A mutual aid society, despite the gifts it receives, has great difficulty in performing its whole task of assistance. It is called the Saint-Cyrienne, and 4,000 of its members have fallen on the field of honor. I have no need to say more.

We come now to a group of societies that have placed themselves at the service of the ill and wounded.

There is the work of Mr. and Mrs. Tuck, Americans, for whom France is a second fatherland, greatly beloved. Before the war they had overwhelmed the City of Rueil with their beneficences, among which was a very beautiful hospital, to which they have this year given an endowment of 70,000 francs in annuity bonds. They have transformed into an ambulance a school of household instruction created by them. They have multiplied their gifts to various ambulances. These are good examples of the sympathy of the United States, a sympathy which is manifesting itself in magnificent charities and in many enlistments in our just cause. I think of these solemn, deliberate declarations as judgments, in which eminent men who know our French spirit and the German spirit, our civilization and German Kultur, have notified Germany that she has forever fallen from her high place and pretensions of intellectual leadership. The Committee to Assist the Hospitals for the Lame, presided over by Mme. Jules Ferry, and the Committee to Aid Lame or Sick Soldiers, presided over by our confrère Frederic Masson, devote their attention to the slightly wounded, the ill, and the "worn-outs," whom the health service gathers into these hospitals. The two committees have co-operated so as to avoid duplication; the second is now giving all its services to the ill and wounded at Saloniki. They distribute bedding, clothing, shoes, pipes, tobacco, wine, games, books, even plants, to brighten a little the gloomy halls of the hospitals. I have read thanks written by officers, telling of the joy of the

soldiers at the arrival of so many "good things." True, the men have plenty of the chief necessities, but they are very grateful for these little luxuries. They say: "We have not been forgotten back there; we are loved." The committees write to the soldiers; they talk with them at meetings; they send them artists, actors, musicians to entertain and inspire them. They combat the soldier's insidious enemy, despondency.

#### Many X-Ray Stations

The National Patronage of the Wounded is an auxiliary of the health service for utilizing the X-ray. Under the very competent scientific direction of Mme. Pierre Curie, professor in the University of Paris, it has placed at the disposal of the army 152 stations—fixed or movable—where surgeons make internal examinations of the wounded in order to locate projectiles. More than 300,000 wounded have passed through these stations. The organization has the consciousness of having contributed to the saving of a great number of precious lives.

All the world knows that at the appeal of our confrère Maurice Barrès, which called forth nearly 2,000,000 francs, the National Federation of the Mutilated came into being. It extends, through its twenty-one committees, all over France. It serves as an auxiliary of the State for the furnishing of artificial limbs; but especially it works at the re-education and employment of those who have lost limbs. In its workshops it teaches them by what means, by what movements they can, mutilated as they are, take up their former trades; or else it teaches them a new trade appropriate to the condition in which war has left them. These alternatives are not left to chance. In Paris and the provinces the members of the committees, good men and women, devoted to their tasks, observe the mutilated and discover their aptitudes. The assignment of positions is made with the greatest care. In June of this year 1,951 re-educated men—really and completely re-educated—had been placed, and well placed. Thus a double service is rendered: to the nation, which recovers useful workmen, and to the men, who are again assured a safe livelihood.

#### Help for the Blinded

Everybody knows, too, that the Society of Friends of the Blind, inspired and directed by M. Valléry-Radot, has become an auxiliary of the Ministry of the Interior and of the National Hospice of the Quinze-Vingts ("Fifteen-Twenties") for the re-education of blinded soldiers. At the beginning of the war Quinze-Vingts, acting on the experiences of previous wars, had reserved twenty places for the blinded; they little realized the power of science when applied to war. They had to enlarge their sanatorium. An enormous house near by—99 bis, Rue de Reuilly—formerly a boarding house, was evacuated for its new destiny. By a tender deceit it is called the House of Convalescence; is it not necessary to guard against the despair of the first moments of entry into perpetual darkness?

These unfortunates, as M. Valléry-Radot has said, "first learn to be blind"; with the left arm leaning on the arm of a friend, the other on a staff, they walk with rigid necks, as if to raise the head higher toward heaven, of which their darkened orbits seem to ask, "Where, then, is the light?" But soon they refuse the aid of the friendly arm; they walk rapidly, very rapidly, they almost run along the corridors, the stairways, and the long alleys of the garden. In the shop they work with an application that I have marveled at; alas! nothing distracts them from their task; for them the outdoors no longer exists.

They quickly learn the trade that is taught them. A few hours suffice to teach a brushmaker. I have watched one of these workmen at the moment when he was finishing a brush; he gave it a turn in his hand, caressed it, then raised it in the air as if to look at it. There are twenty of these workshops, and 200 blind are distributed among them. I was present at the four hours' rest period. The bugle call that announces luncheon, or, as they say, "the four hours' glass of wine," is greeted with a joyous hubbub. This gayety in a sanatorium whose sadness I had feared to look upon surprised me.

The Society of the Friends of Blinded

Soldiers contributes largely to the support of the establishment by the devotion of the nurses and workshop chiefs whom it furnishes, by little attentions and luxuries, and especially by undertaking to find positions for the blind, to follow them up afterward, and assure them each a home. Already it has helped ten pensioners to marry and establish households of their own, returning to the House of Convalescence as half pensioners. Thanks to their "friends," these victims of the war are not only resigned to their lot; they are reconciled with life, though they will always retain the longing for light. \* \* \*

#### *Godfathers of Reuilly*

The work of the Godfathers of Reuilly is a benefaction for permissionaires from our occupied provinces. The soldier from those countries is a mournful exile. Between him and his home rises a formidable barrier of breasts, of iron, of fire, and of horror. What has become of his loved ones, his wife, his children, his old parents? And the dear house, with its roof of thatch or of slate, is it still standing, or is it a gaping ruin, blackened by fire? These men on furlough from the trenches do not know where to pass their six days. Many come to Paris; in Paris one always knows some one. The War Office tendered them 200 beds in the barracks at Reuilly, but a shelter for the night was not enough. What should they do with the long, empty days?

At the barracks there lodges a part of the Twenty-second Section, that of the workmen and clerks of administration, or, as they say in that abbreviated language for which a dictionary ought to be compiled—for it is a collection of puzzling enigmas—the C. O. A. Doubtless the first permissionaires, arriving exhausted, their eyes still full of terrible visions, asked themselves, "What are these idlers doing here?" The C. O. A. showed what they could do. Today the Reuilly barrack is a family home in which the permissionaires are the spoiled chil-

dren. They get up when they please, after having breakfasted in bed upon a large cup of coffee, accompanied by a piece of bread and a tablet of chocolate. They don't even have to make their beds; the C. O. A. takes care of that. At 10:30 the very copious déjeuner is served by the C. O. A. In the afternoon guides take them over Paris and explain the monuments. On their return they have a dinner as good as the luncheon; in the evening, the theatre or cinema.

Thus these brave men taste the sweets of rest from torment. But how could the Godfathers of Reuilly create such an enterprise? I forgot to say that they know that one of the duties of godfathers is to "give the coin" to their godsons. Each godson receives a 2.50-franc piece. Are they very rich, then, these gentlemen of the C. O. A.? Let us see how their council is composed: President, Administration Officer Aubin; Administrator, Adjutant Angot, founder of the association; eight Sergeants, a Corporal, a soldier of the second class. Evidently these are not millionaires. All that they could do was to sacrifice all or part of their savings; then these men of large hearts appealed to other men with hearts, who responded freely. On the 31st of last October they had entertained, fed, and recreated 38,807 permissionaires for at least six days and distributed 190,000 francs in pocket money and little gifts.

When the godsons are gone the godfathers do not consider themselves done with them; on the date just given they had sent 6,700 parcels to the front. Besides, they write; a soldier likes to get letters; at the hour of mail distribution it is a joy to hear the officer call his name. On the same date 90,000 letters had been exchanged between the front and Reuilly. One of the godsons certainly expressed the feeling of all when he wrote: "Such godfathers as these—well, the Germans don't have them!" Such work of military fraternity is indeed altogether French.

# The French Victories of Douaumont and Hardaumont

[A narrative by military eyewitnesses, translated from *Le Bulletin des Armées* and *L'Illustration* for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.]

**F**ROM the slopes of Souville I watched Victory scaling and crowning Douaumont. \* \* \*

[Oct. 24, 1916.]

Our modern battles are not showy. They are generally cruel and mysterious. Wide empty spaces pitted with shell holes and cut by long furrows which mark the ground as the veins line the hand; columns of smoke rising from bursting shells; a line of shadows that scud over the earth and then disappear; the ruins of a village bursting into a blaze; a barrier fire which flares up like the footlights on the stage and leaves one guessing as to the drama which is being played out behind this suddenly drawn curtain—and that is all. Those who take part in the battle never know more than one episode of it. It is followed in the posts of the commanders, carried to their dugouts by telephone wires, transmitted by optical signals, sent flying on pigeons' wings, borne by runners. But the victory of Oct. 24 I beheld rising suddenly before me like a living being.

The hill of Souville, alone among the heights which surround Verdun, reaches the altitude of Douaumont. Between the two rivals emerges the ridge of Fleury, which, like the arm of a cross, joins the ridge of Froideterre, whose slopes ascend to Douaumont. Ravines are hollowed out in the frame of that long cross. The formidable fort of Douaumont occupies its crest in the form of a double battlement.

This landscape of ravines and hills which the fort dominates I have watched so long that it was printed on my eyes, on the morning of Oct. 24, when I took my post at Souville. And my eyes sought it in vain before me. A thick fog made it impossible to see beyond the nearer slopes, which are all pierced and muti-

lated, with a stricken tree trying to stand here and there.

However, this fog was not lifeless. It was stirred, furrowed by the incessant and invisible passage of shells. Their whistling was so continuous that, in spite of one's self, one looked for them in the air, as if they must form a vault of steel. Our artillery was smashing the enemy positions. And I recalled those anxious days at the end of February when the flight of shells alighted upon us. This time it was the opposite impression, our superiority clearly affirmed. The thousand voices of the guns formed a prodigious concert in that fog, and I sought to resolve their skillful orchestration into its elements, from the strident and dry plaint of the 75 to the deep basses of the heavy mortars.

## *Attacking in the Fog*

Would we attack in spite of the mist? Was it not a disastrous condition for the fire which was to accompany the advance? Or, on the contrary, would the fog add to the surprise? I looked at my watch, knowing the hour of the attack, and, while I waited, a kind of unrest little by little took possession of me, the feeling of the deferred undertaking, of the hope adjourned. I knew the operation had been minutely ordered, the troops marvelously prepared. But I knew also the disproportion of the forces, the audacity of the undertaking—three divisions (60,000 men) ordered to dislodge seven (140,000 men) from their formidably organized positions. A daring enterprise, but proportioned like a masterpiece, and destined to work out so exactly that, once it was executed, it looked quite simple. \* \* \*

On this ground that I knew so well, I marked out the divisions ready for the attack: From the quarries of Haudromont on my left to Douaumont before me, the division of General Guyot de Salins with

the zouaves, sharpshooters, and the famous Colonial Regiment of Morocco which retook Fleury on Aug. 17; to the right, General Passaga's division; still further to the right, on the side of Vaux and Hardaumont, General Lardemelle's infantry. I pictured them all, though I could not see fifty yards before me. And I pictured also, not without secret anxiety, the German battle array, the number of battalions in the first and second line, the lines of trenches, the accessory defenses, the redoubts, Thiaumont earth-work, the Haudromont quarries, lastly and most of all Douaumont fort. How could our men overcome such material and human barriers?

At each instant I looked at my watch: 11 o'clock, 11:20, at last 11:40. It was the hour fixed for the attack. I should have been able to watch the attack set out and unfurl itself in the ravine, then mount its slopes; was it taking place even now? Had the artillery lengthened its fire? Impossible to know. It is 11:50. But what do I hear on the right? The tac-tac of the machine guns. If the machine guns are firing, the attack has been launched. If the machine guns are firing, our men have been detected and are meeting resistance.

I no longer hear them. The noise of the guns fills the air. And, anew, it is uncertainty, long-drawn disquiet. At the commander's post, where I go from time to time, news is beginning to flow in; the start has been splendid; the first objective already gained, they are reorganizing, getting ready to start, starting.

An airman's motor snores above my head. He is flying so low that he almost grazes me. I make him out, immense and grayish in the fog. He comes lower. They told me that night that an airman had come near enough to shout "Forward!" to our men, that a dialogue had taken place between air and earth.

#### *"Douaumont Is Ours!"*

At 2 the wind, growing stronger, begins to pull the clouds to pieces. \* \* \* I recognize the crest of Fleury, the Chambitoux ravine, the slopes of Douaumont, Douaumont and its double battlement. The clouds are flying so swiftly

now that their flock is scattered in a twinkling, and the landscape breaks through with the extraordinary clearness that precedes or follows rain.

With my strong field glasses I scan the horizon. I could count the shellholes. They are full of water! What difficulties our soldiers must have met if they went that way! But the landscape is full of life. There, on the slope of Douaumont, earth-colored men are moving. They advance in single column, to right and left, in good order. They go forward, upward, they draw near. There is one silhouetted on the crest, and then another and another. On each battlement they appear, others descend into the gorge. But they will be seen, the machine guns will find them! Don't expose yourselves like that: it is madness!

They stir, they turn, as if describing a vast circle above Douaumont reconquered, a sort of dance of victory. I want to shout. I must have shouted, but I did not hear the sound of my voice in the din of the machine guns, for the German reply came quickly, and the shells are bursting close to me. I must have shouted, for I am chewing a piece of earth, which the bursting of a shell has splashed into my open mouth. Douaumont is ours! The formidable Douaumont, whose massive height dominates from its observatories both banks of the Meuse, is French once more.

I remember that sad evening of Feb. 25 last, when, in the mud and snow, we learned that Douaumont was lost. We did not want to believe it. We could not believe it. And now, in less than four hours, this same Douaumont, with a whole region, stretching from the Haudromont quarries to the Fausse-Côte Ravine, is in our hands again. In less than four hours we have annihilated the German accomplishment of eight months. In his turn, the German does not wish to believe that Douaumont has been wrested from him. He does not shell it; he will wait another hour before daring to shell it; and the extraordinary dance of our poilus continues to unfold itself from one battlement to the other, in tranquillity and joy, while the setting sun, finally clear, gives colors of glory to the sky,

and in that evening light the fleet of our triumphant airmen fills the air. \* \* \*

#### *Story of the Attack*

[*Another Military Eyewitness tells the story of the attack from a more inclusive viewpoint.*]

The general preparation lasted three days. \* \* \* On Oct. 24, until 11:35, our bombardment redoubled in violence: heavy batteries and trench mortars pounded the enemy line with a final smashing fire. But our troops, slightly withdrawn to avoid "short" fire, left in advance only posts of lookouts and machine guns to guard against surprise. At the time fixed the "heavies" quickly lengthened their fire; during the next five minutes gales of 75, firing high explosive, ball, percussion shells, rapidly finished smashing and stamping out the enemy's resistance. At 11:40 the 76 lengthened fire; it was the signal for the assault.

Then you saw our infantry pouring out of their trenches; from one end to the other of the battlefield, from the heights of Haudromont to the crest of Fleury, to the ridges of Vaux Chapitre and Dam-loup, it leaped forward with a single magnificent dash, throwing itself upon the narrow band, 100 to 150 yards wide, that separated it from the enemy. The German position was carried in an instant, without a single shot, without a machine gun firing; it was all "bomb and bayonet," it was over in a trice. Soon our divisions dashed forward, passing beyond the first enemy trenches. The first prisoners, who escaped our fire in their demolished shelters, looking as if they had been dug out of the earth, were flowing toward our rear.

Our progress continued with imperceptible rhythm. Its movements had been fixed beforehand, like those of a watch. Artillery fire, forward leap of the infantry, co-ordination between guns and men, system of information, observations, signals, all worked like a charm, like clockwork. The enemy has not the monopoly of method. Our troops were already on his supporting line before he dreamed that the first line was carried.

In less than an hour the line was reached from the Haudromont quarry, through the Thiaumont ridge, to the north edge of the Bazil ravine. Only on the right, isolated centres showed a vigorous defensive, which slightly delayed our progress on that side. Everywhere else the enemy failed to react. Our losses were extremely light.

We start again; it is a question of gaining the essential objective: the road from Bras to Douaumont and the legendary fort. This new phase of the assault is carried out like the first, with the same impeccable method, and with an ease almost magical. The assault is like a triumphal march. It was in this rush of two kilometers that one of our regiments lost only one man wounded; a neighboring division had to regret only the death of a single officer. Thanks to the mastery of our artillery, our troops advanced freely, across open ground, as coolly as at manoeuvres, with no obstacles but the mud, the puddles, and the shell holes. Gayety overflowed: our airmen who were escorting the assault swooped low above the undulating lines in the mist, and saw our men go forward joyously, with slung rifles, signaling with their hands, waving their handkerchiefs. The attack against the formidable hill had the gay movement of a festival.

Then a strange thing happened. The sky which, since morning, had looked rainy, and which, since the attack began, had grown darker, was suddenly lit up. The fact was so remarkable that it struck our enemies. The three previous days had been exceptionally bright. The morning of Oct. 24 opened so gloomy, with weak, pale light, that a German officer taken prisoner by us, as he confessed to us, believed that we possessed the secret of a cloud-generating shell, able to produce artificial night, so strong is the human tendency to magnify one's enemy, and to credit him with chimerical powers which he does not possess. \* \* \*

#### *Results of the Battle*

The battle of Oct. 24 is one of the finest successes of the war. It has echoed through the world. Germany has vainly tried to palliate her loss and lessen its

importance. \* \* \* The moral result in itself would justify the undertaking. But, for our command, it was only secondary. The goal was more substantial. It is not only a question of the ground won back, nor of matériel captured, even though fifteen cannons, fifty bomb-throwers, and 144 machine guns form a respectable booty, without counting the rest. It would be more if we had the time to dig in the shell holes; more than 200 machine guns remained buried there, pellmell with their crews, in what was once the German trench.

But the taking of Douaumont transforms the situation before Verdun. He who holds Douaumont holds the country; he commands all the views, sweeping the horizon for immense distances.

But there is more. However important is the occupation of the fort, however great the radiance it adds to our victory, that victory would be almost equally great without it. On the eve of the battle a General said, pointing out on the map the emplacements of the enemy: "Shall we take Douaumont? Perhaps. But we shall surely take twenty-two German battalions." And the General was as good as his word. Twenty-two battalions annihilated—either killed or taken prisoner. (The prisoners exceed 6,000, including 138 officers.) This is the real victory. \* \* \* The German artillery suffered not less than the infantry. Of 130 batteries which we had before us, 99 were effectively hammered, and half of them smashed, put out of action. \* \* \* Germany will not bring to life again the army corps which she has lost. She will not obliterate the effect of our victory. She will not efface, in the hearts of her men, the fear of our ascendancy, or the memory of the day when seven German divisions were knocked about and broken by three French divisions. \* \* \*

#### *Victory of Hardaumont*

[*The same writer in Le Bulletin des Armées tells the story of the later victory that completed this chapter in French history.*]

From the Meuse to Bezonvaux, the victory of Dec. 15 completes that of Oct. 24, which so brilliantly won back for us the fort of Douaumont. It tears from the

Germans, on a front of six and a quarter miles and to a depth of two miles, the village of Vacherauville, the part of Pepper Hill which they still held, the village of Louvemont, 378-Meter Hill, Les Chambrettes, the Caurières Wood, the heights of Hardaumont, the earthwork and village of Bezonvaux.

A glance at the map will suffice to show the importance of this result. The Germans lose the last observatories that could facilitate operations against Verdun. Besides the ground gained, the victory has brought us more than 8,000 prisoners. More than forty-five cannons have already been sent to the rear; the number of those taken or destroyed is probably twice as great. The enemy has left in our hands the greater part of his machine guns and bomb throwers.

Like the victory of Oct. 24, that of Dec. 15 was most carefully prepared. General Nivelle, commanding the army at Verdun, had confided its execution to General Mangin. The nature of the ground made it particularly difficult. The Germans, in withdrawing, left the ground broken up, without roads, while it was comparatively easy for them to reorganize further back by using their numerous railroads. It was, therefore, necessary to transform the ground gained on Oct. 24 into a veritable work yard, to build twenty-five or thirty kilometers of roads, including a corduroy road for the passage of the artillery, and more than ten kilometers of sixty and forty centimeter gauge railroads for the carriage of munitions and food supplies. Thanks to these constructions the artillery was pushed forward close to the lines and was thus able to support the infantry attack. It was the part of the artillery to direct the fight; the infantry followed it.

The enemy order of battle included, from the Meuse to Bezonvaux, five divisions: the Fourteenth Reserve Division, the Thirty-ninth Division, which forms a part of the Fifteenth Corps, and which had just relieved the Thirteenth Reserve Division; the Tenth Division, the Fourteenth Division, and the Thirty-ninth Bavarian Reserve Division. New trenches had been dug, with flanking works, in imitation of our methods. On Pepper Hill

a work of considerable age, at which the enemy had been working since March, was fitted with barbed-wire entanglements, concrete galleries, redoubts, shelters, munition depots, which made the place a sort of fortress.

The troops of General Mangin, charged with the attacking sector, included four divisions, two of which had already gained glory in the last battles before Verdun. They were, from left to right, General Muteau's division, General Guyot de Salins's division, General Garnier du Plessis's division, and General Passaga's division. The work of the different staffs which directed the preparation had demanded a long effort. As on Oct. 24, the outcome proved the excellence of the method. The execution had to be delayed because of the weather. Although the weather remained bad, the commander decided to go ahead, and the artillery preparation began, in spite of the rain and snow, which made control difficult and impeded the work of the airmen. But the energy of all triumphed over these obstacles and succeeded in making possible an attack which appeared chimerical at such a season.

The front of attack, from Pepper Hill to Hardaumont, measured six and a quarter miles. The artillery preparation carried out by numerous batteries of all calibres had destroyed the villages of Vacherauville and Louvemont, as well as the works of Hardaumont and Bezonvaux, which were found nearly empty. On the eve of the attack seven German deserters from the Ratisbon trench reached our lines; they were all that remained of a whole company.

On Dec. 15, after a night of rain and snow, the weather cleared and visibility became excellent. The enemy artillery, paralyzed by ours, was reduced to silence an hour before the attack.

Exactly at 10 A. M., our assaulting troops left their trenches. The attack was led, as if by a stop-watch, with a rapidity, a dash, and an enthusiasm that passed belief. All objectives were attained at the stated times. In one hour we were masters of the whole line from Vacherauville to Louvemont, 378-Meter Hill. Considerable obstacles, such as the Le Helly Ravine, were crossed by General Guyot de Salins's division with such rapidity that the accounts do not even mention that there was any obstruction.

The airmen accompanied the assaulting troops and carried disorder to the enemy's rear. Adjutant Violette, during the afternoon, bombarded and dispersed groups of three or four hundred men in the neighborhood of Saint-Andre and the Joliceur Farm, who were coming as reinforcements. A German "sausage," which had ascended, was set on fire in the air by one of our airmen.

In the villages of Vacherauville and Louvemont the resistance of the enemy was immediately stifled.

At 11:30 A. M. all the crests of Louvemont were in our hands, as well as the Hardaumont and Lorient works. Our troops met with greater difficulties in the Vauche Woods. But their progress was not stopped, and toward 3 P. M. General Passaga's division reached the Bezonvaux work. At the same time we were seizing the Chambrettes Farm. Prisoners were pouring in; their number exceeds 8,000.

Up to the last moment the Germans had remained uncertain as to the point of attack. They undoubtedly expected an attack on the west bank of the Meuse, where our artillery preparation was extended pretty far toward the west. It was there that they directed their principal barrier fire, while we made our attack on the east bank.



# Great Britain's New War Plans

Address by Earl Curzon

*Lord President of the War Council and Leader of the House of Lords*

[Delivered Dec. 19, 1916]

*After paying graceful tributes to Lord Lansdowne and Lord Crewe—also to Mr. Asquith and the late Coalition Cabinet—Lord Curzon said:*

THE record of the Coalition Government is not one of which we need be ashamed. They retrieved the fortunes of the war in the first year of the fighting and converted them into the notable and glorious victory of the Somme, and they have paved the way, as we hope, for the victory which will ultimately be obtained. In these circumstances, it may be asked of what spirit or feeling is the change in the personnel of the Government the outcome. I hope I shall not be wrong if I state my belief that the friendly welcome which has been accorded to the present Government, not least by your Lordships, has been due to the conviction that a greater and more concentrated effort, more effective and universal organization, a more adequate and rapid use of the resources, not only of ourselves alone but of our allies, are required if we are to carry the war to the successful termination we all desire.

This country is not merely willing to be led, but is almost calling to be driven. They desire the vigorous prosecution of the war, a sufficient and ample return for all the sacrifices they have made, reparation by the enemy for his countless and inconceivable crimes, security that those crimes shall not be repeated and that those sacrifices shall not have been made in vain. They desire that the peace

of Europe shall be re-established on the basis of a free and independent existence of nations, great and small. They desire as regards ourselves that our own country shall be free from the menace which the triumph of German arms, and still more the triumph of the German spirit, would entail. It is to carry out these intentions that the present Government has come into existence, and by its success or failure in doing so will it be judged.

It will not be denied that the reconstruction of the Government has been attempted on novel lines. Only twice during the last 150 years of our history have there been Cabinets of numbers as low as ten, and only four times in the same period have the numbers of the Cabinet been as low as twelve. The whole of the rest of the Ministries of the last 150 years have varied in numbers from thirteen upward, culminating in the figure, not always

spoken of with reverence, of twenty-three in the recent Coalition Cabinet. Now we have a Cabinet of five, or, as it often finds, itself in session, of four.

The principles upon which the Prime Minister has formed his Cabinet are three: First, the concentration of executive authority in the hands of a small number of persons, the majority of them not holding portfolios, the object being to secure promptitude in decision and vigilance in action. The second principle is the prominent part assigned to labor. Without labor the war could not be won—without the organization of labor it could



LORD CURZON

not be effectively pursued. Labor is entitled therefore to a powerful voice in its direction. The third principle has been the employment of expert ability in high official posts and in important departments, whether or not it has been previously connected with Parliamentary associations. At this moment there are sitting on the bench beside me Lord Devonport and Lord Rhondda, who have had long Parliamentary experience, but who owe their posts to their special qualifications for the posts conferred upon them. Mr. Prothero has both a practical and a scientific acquaintance with agriculture, and he enjoys the confidence of the agricultural world. Dr. Fisher, who has gone to the Board of Education, is a historian, a writer, and an administrator, and is himself an exponent of the highest educational ideas.

#### *The War Cabinet*

The supreme executive authority in the conduct of the war is vested in the small committee or body of men whose names are familiar to all. That committee sits every day, and sometimes two or three times a day. It is in truth, as it is called, a war Cabinet. There is no other Cabinet constituted as a body and meeting regularly under the Presidency of the Prime Minister with collective responsibility for all the acts of the Government. That, of course, does not mean that the members of the War Cabinet are divorced from close association with their colleagues, or that departments of Government not directly represented in the War Cabinet are run on independent lines. An effective liaison between the two must be maintained by means of conferences and meetings intended to bring about common action. Similarly as to the conduct of the war, no one would imagine that the War Cabinet can act independently or without constant and almost hourly consultation with its technical advisers. In all matters affecting the conduct of the war by land and by sea the Chief of the Imperial General Staff and the First Sea Lord are invariably in attendance, and when the affairs of other departments are concerned, the heads of these departments are also consulted.

The plan adopted is closely analogous

to the Committee of Imperial Defense. But the essence of the arrangement as applied to the Cabinet is that high officials come when they are required and go when their work is completed, and the one body that is in permanent session and is finally responsible is the War Cabinet, under the Presidency of the Prime Minister. I do not say that in practice it will always be an easy arrangement to work. It is, like the Government itself, somewhat in the nature of an experiment, but we may count upon the public spirit and patriotism and individual self-abnegation which have characterized the inception of this venture to give it a fair chance of continuing success.

Now I come to the problems with which the Government have to deal. We have to keep up our armies in the field and to give to our commanders in all the theatres of war the men whom they require to maintain their forces at full strength for the greater work that lies before them. Secondly, we have to keep or to obtain the men, and also the women, who will give us increased supplies of food, munitions, and shipping, and who will maintain the essential industries of the nation. Thirdly, we have to organize our resources of manhood, material, and money so as to devote them, along with our allies, with whom there must be even closer co-operation and co-ordination in the future than there has been in the past, to the successful prosecution of the war.

#### *Extending Government Control*

I do not conceal from your Lordships that far greater sacrifices will be called for from our people than any to which they have hitherto been subjected, that far greater restraints on individual conduct and personal liberty will be entailed. We shall have in the next few months to revise many of our ideas and much of our practice.

I wonder if the country at all fully realizes the extent to which the British people, the most liberty loving, the most individualistic, and in some respects the most independent in the world, have already parted with their traditional rights and privileges and handed them over to the State. Early in the war we took over the railways. We have now done the

same with the railways in Ireland. The merchant shipping of the country has now for more than a year been almost entirely under Government control. Compulsory acquisition of property has become a matter of almost daily occurrence. We are all familiar with the control of the press. Under the Munitions act we have introduced compulsory limitation of profits, compulsory arbitration, prohibition of strikes and lockouts, and compulsory fixing of wages. Recently we have begun to control the raw materials of industry and articles of common consumption. Sugar and imported wheat are under Government control. The same is true of steel and wool and leather. We began to ration with petrol, and I shall be very much surprised if Lord Devonport does not before long take us a good deal further. Last night those of us who dined at clubs found no difficulty in accommodating ourselves to the modest exigencies of a three-course repast, and I have no doubt that we shall be all the better in a short time for the one meatless day a week. Prices have already been fixed for many articles of food. Finally, we took the step of applying compulsory military service.

All this began with a Liberal Government; it went on with the Coalition Government, and it will find new developments and proceed with accelerated speed under the administration now in office. Does any one complain? I think not. Many years ago I remember Sir William Harcourt saying: "We are all Socialists now." What he would say now I can scarcely conceive. I think he would gasp at some of the restraints on personal liberty, but the fact is that there is no sacrifice of convenience, personal liberty, or comfort to which the people are not prepared to submit provided they can be sure that they will not be in vain.

#### *New Developments*

The new Government propose new developments. They have appointed an experienced and eminent shipowner as Controller of Shipping. He is already in consultation with his colleagues, but it would be premature to discuss the actual form his recommendations will take.

The two great problems are the utilization of all available shipping to the best advantage, and ship manufacture so far as labor and material can be obtained. It is in contemplation by the Government to nationalize the shipping of the United Kingdom, and if this be successfully carried out one result, I hope, will be a reduction of the extravagant freights that have contributed to high prices.

One of the latest acts of the last Administration was to take over the South Wales coal fields. The late Government intended to extend that, and we propose to take over the whole of the coal mines of the country. Regarding the question of food, the real danger is the failure of our crops, and drastic action is required to meet the deficiency. That action must be twofold—first, as affecting distribution, and, secondly, as affecting production. Both are likely to involve compulsory methods of a somewhat far-reaching character.

It is essential that the excess consumption of the affluent should not be allowed to create a shortage for the less well-to-do. As regards production, it means the utilization of every available acre of land and all available labor. One of the difficulties is the dearth of skilled men—drawn away, some times taken away, by the action of the Government. But by proper distribution it would seem that one skilled man working with unskilled labor may be able to do the work not of one farm, but, by a system of co-operation, of several.

In the organization of production your Lordships may play a very prominent part. There is a good deal of ornamental land that might be used. Still more there is a good deal of ornamental labor that might be converted, concerned with the familiar amenities of country life, men who are keeping up gardens, hot-houses, lawns, and so on, and very likely engaged in some cases in the preservation of game. I am well aware of the very great sacrifices already made by many in the positions of your Lordships, but in the months that lie before us, when every man will be wanted, I feel sure we can rely on your Lordships' House. But we must proceed much further than this.

### *The German Challenge*

At the very moment when she is talking of peace Germany is making the most stupendous efforts for the prosecution of the war, and to find new men. She is squeezing possibly the last drop out of the manhood of her nation. She is compelling every man, woman, and boy between 16 and 60 to enter the service of the State. At the same time, with a callous ferocity and disregard of international law, she is driving the population of the territory she has occupied into compulsory service. She is even trying to get an army out of Poland by offering it the illusory boon of "independence."

That is the nature of the challenge we have to meet. It has been our object to establish such a system of recruiting as will insure that no man is taken for the army who is capable of rendering more useful service in industry. We ought to have power to see that every man who is not taken into the army is employed on national work. At present it is only on men fit for military service the nation has the right to call. Unfit men, exempted men, are surely under the same moral obligation. We need to make a swift and effective answer to Germany's latest move, and in my opinion it is not too much to ask the people of this country to take upon themselves in a few months and as free men the obligations which Germany is imposing on herself.

As our army grows our need of munitions grows. A large part of our labor for munition purposes is at present immobile, and we have no power to transfer men from where they are wasting their strength to places where they can be of great service. We have not the organization for transferring them as volunteers. These are the powers we must take, and this is the organization we must complete. The matter is not new. It was considered by the War Committee of the late Government and others, and it was decided that the time had come for the adoption of universal national service. It was one of the first matters taken up by the present Government.

It was proposed to appoint a Director of National Services. The military and civil sides will be entirely separate, and

each will have a director. It is proposed that the Director of National Service shall proceed with the scheduling of industries and of services according to their essential character during the war. Certain industries will be regarded as indispensable, and the departments concerned will look to the Director of National Service for the labor they require. We are taking immediate steps to get the men we want, and we shall begin as soon as we can to classify industries and enroll volunteers. If we fail to get the numbers we require we shall not hesitate to ask Parliament to give us the necessary powers to make our plans effective.

### *The Military Situation*

Having dealt so far with the domestic program of the Government, I will now refer to the military and political situations. While I do not believe in painting too rosy a picture of affairs, I think we ought not to take a gloomy view. It is true that Germany has captured the capital of Rumania, but your Lordships must not imagine that she has gained all the success even in Rumania that the words of the Imperial Chancellor would appear to suggest. It may be a consolation to your Lordships to know that the oil refineries and stocks in that part of Rumania which is now in the occupation of the Germans were destroyed before the arrival of the Germans.

It would be invidious if I were to discuss the cause of Rumania's failure. It is one of the tragic incidents of the war. The only military power which could come to the assistance of Rumania was Russia. Russia has done all in her power. The utmost we could do was to send supplies, as we did, and to engage the common enemy by an active offensive from our military base at Saloniki.

What changes have taken place in the external aspect of the war during the present year? I distrust the statistics, at any rate in casualties in war, nor do I attach too much importance to the fact that since July 1 the combined armies of France and England have taken 105,000 German prisoners, 150 heavy guns, 200 field guns, and 15,000 machine guns. There have been much more important consequences than this. The Allies have

established an uncontested superiority not merely in the fighting strength and stamina of their men, but in artillery and the air. It is clear that the morale of the Germans is greatly shaken and that their forces are sick of it. Evidence is accumulating of the bad interior condition of Germany, in some cases the admitted hunger and in some cases almost starvation and the progressive physical deterioration of her people.

#### *Germany's Peace Talk*

It is at this moment that Germany has come forward with offers of peace, or rather, let me say, vague adumbrations and indications of peace. What has been the course of events? First, there has been the speech of the Imperial Chancellor in the Reichstag. Next there is the note to the powers. The note proclaims the indestructible strength of the Central Powers, and proclaims that Germany is not only undefeated but undefeatable. It advances the plea that Germany was constrained to take up arms for the defense of her existence. It avows German respect for the rights of other nations, and expresses a desire to stem the flood of blood, and, finally, after this remarkable preamble, it declares that they propose even now, in the hour of their triumph, as an act of condescension, to enter into peace negotiations.

As regards peace, is there a single one of the allied powers who would not welcome peace if it is to be a genuine peace, a lasting peace, a peace that could be secured on honorable terms, a peace that would give guarantees for the future? Is there a single Government, statesman, or individual who does not wish to put an end to this conflict, which is turning half the world into a hell and wrecking the brightest prospects of mankind? In what spirit is it proposed and from whom does it come?

Lord Curzon read passages from the German Chancellor's speech and continued:

Is this the spirit in which your Lordships think that peace proposals should be made? Does it hold out a reasonable prospect of inducing the Allies to lay down their arms? Is there any indica-

tion of German desire to make reparation and to give guarantees for the future? So far as we can judge from that speech, and it is all we have to judge by, the spirit which breathes in every word is the spirit of German militarism. While that speech is being made Belgian deportation is going on. It is said that the "peace of God passeth understanding." Surely, the same thing can be said in a different sense of the peace which Germany proposes. We know nothing of that. We have only the menacing tone of the note and the speech which accompanied it.

Let me put one more reflection before you. Let no one think for a moment that it is merely by territorial restitution or by reversion to the status quo ante that the objects for which the Allies are fighting will be obtained. We are fighting, it is true, to recover for Belgium, France, Russia, Serbia, and Rumania the territories which they have lost, and to secure reparation for the cruel wrongs they have experienced. But you may restore to them all, and more than all, they have lost, you may pile on indemnities which no Treasury in Europe could produce, and yet the war would have been in vain if we had no guarantees and no securities against a repetition of Germany's offense. We are not fighting to destroy Germany. Such an idea has never entered into the mind of any thinking human being in this country. But we are fighting to secure that the German spirit shall not crush the free progress of nations, and that the armed strength of Germany, augmented and fortified, shall not dominate the future. We are fighting that our grandchildren and our great-grandchildren shall not have, in days when we have passed away, to go again through the experience of the years 1914 to 1917. This generation has suffered in order that the next may live.

We are ready enough for peace when these guarantees have been secured and these objects attained. Till then we owe it to the hundreds of thousands of our fellow-countrymen and our allies who have shed their blood for us to be true to the trust of their splendid and uncomplaining sacrifice and to endure to the end.

# Recruiting Britain's Great Armies

## History of the First Phase

Great Britain now has about 5,000,000 men under arms. The full story of how the first brave little expeditionary force of 100,000 in Belgium and France grew under Lord Kitchener's hand to such vast dimensions has only lately been given to the world through British official channels. A condensed account of the first phase of the recruiting campaign, written by one of the editors of *The London Telegraph*, is here offered as by no means the least wonderful chapter in the history of the war.

**M**ANY an immortal page in the history of the world will be consecrated to the effort of England in this greatest of wars. There can be none more amazing than that which tells of the levying and enlistment of millions of fighting men from the least military of European nations. The student of war, enemy or friend, would have made oath two years ago that to think of the United Kingdom creating in the shock and strain of war such armies as those which now threaten the power of Germany was mere mad delusion. Even yet the enemy can hardly persuade himself to believe that the overwhelming miracle has been wrought. But the armies are there in his trenches, and the hour of his conviction draws nearer.

How great is the achievement which, within two years, has magnified the military power of Britain tenfold, which has given us armies of millions instead of armies to be counted by the hundred thousand, we who have watched the work done day by day, who see only that little fraction affecting ourselves, can hardly yet realize. There is no doubt that in the future it will be recognized by the military historian as an example of national vigor and determination in war without precedent or parallel.

We have now come to a stage in the struggle and in the progress of recruiting whence it is possible to take a survey of the growth of our armies, showing the various phases in something like their true proportion. Such a survey, guided by the authoritative information which has been placed at our disposal, will be found of the deepest interest, and, what is more to the purpose, rich in material for national confidence and pride.

Before we knew what a modern conflict

of nations must be, it was supposed that if Armageddon ever were fought England's main task in support of her allies of the Entente would be to enforce and maintain the command of the seven seas, and to supply the material of war from her deep purse and her highly organized industry. That she had an army second to none Englishmen profoundly believed, but no one in England or abroad expected her to produce an army upon the Continental scale.

In August, 1914, the whole military forces of England, with the colors and in the reserve, fully trained and partially trained, liable for foreign service, and only available for home defense, amounted to no more than 700,000 men. The regular army, counting in every class, reserves and special reserves, produced on mobilization about 450,000 men. The territorial force, which could not, except by men or battalions volunteering, be employed overseas, could muster some 250,000. These men, however eager to do their part, could not be reckoned as fully trained. It was in the scheme of things that the territorials would require six months under arms before they ranked as first-line troops. Thus the paper total of 700,000 does not represent the number available to meet the shock of the German advance.

Moreover, of this nominal 700,000, 100,000 and more were serving in India or on other foreign stations. When Lord Kitchener took up the seals of the War Office he found that for the defense of the United Kingdom and for giving aid to our hard-pressed allies he had at his disposal less than 600,000 men, more than half of whom were not fully trained. We may or may not be proud of it, but if ever a country gave pledges of its de-

sire for peace that country was twentieth-century England.

From the first Kitchener believed that the war must be a war of years, and not of months, and with grim vigor he acted on his belief. When we remember the excited optimism which in those days swayed not only the masses, but many who had been trained to war and high politics, we may be inclined to reckon it a signal example of the historic good fortune of England that she had in her service the rare foresight, the courageous judgment, and the invincible energy of Kitchener. His first action on going to the War Office was to announce that the addition of 100,000 men to the army was "immediately necessary." They were to be between the ages of 19 and 30, and they must enlist for "three years or the duration of the war." The length and elasticity of the term caused a good many smiles. The theory that the struggle would be short and sharp was in favor with the expert as well as the layman. But those smiles are a queer memory in 1916.

Kitchener decided that his recruits should not be brought into any of the old organizations of the regular army, the special reserve, or the territorial force, but enrolled in new formations called service battalions. A second expeditionary force was to come into being behind the old. But the value of what the old could teach was not forgotten. By attaching these service battalions to the territorial regiments, to which the regular and territorial force battalions also belong, and numbering them consecutively after the old formations, the feeling of unity, the traditions, and spirit of the old army were from the beginning implanted in the service battalions. That they can fight and die not unworthily of that "contemptible little army" which broke the first onset of the barbarian at Mons and Le Cateau they have shown all the world in the rush at Loos and the steady advance on the Somme.

#### *The First Hundred Thousand*

Kitchener wanted 100,000 men to start with. Within a fortnight he found them.

It was swiftly clear that the trouble would be not to obtain recruits, but to deal with them as they came. The rush to the colors had begun, indeed, before Kitchener issued his appeal, before he entered the War Office. The officer in charge of Great Scotland Yard, the principal recruiting office in London, has an odd story to tell of those early days. During the whole of Saturday, Aug. 1, he recalls, he had attested only eight men. On Aug. 2 and 3, Sunday and Bank Holiday, his office was closed. When he came back early on the 4th he found it besieged by a seething mass of men eager to storm their way into the army. It took him twenty minutes and the desperate efforts of twenty policemen to force his way into his own office, and he was attesting men as hard as he could all that day and for very many other days. But the experience of Scotland Yard was the experience of every recruiting office in the kingdom. "Duke's son, cook's son," men of all classes, married and single, childless and with families, rich and poor, artists and artisans, barristers and plowmen, parsons and loafers, crowded to the doors where once Sergeants with persuasive tongues had cajoled to little purpose.

This wave of men overwhelmed all organization and machinery. Nobody in the War Office or out of it had dreamed of such a flood. Before the war our army expected to enlist no more than 30,000 men in a whole year, and it is to be confessed that the staff and establishment of the recruiting department were hardly adequate to manage the affairs of even this unpretentious host. It is an odd example of the irony of circumstance that less than a month before war broke out there were anxious assemblies in Whitehall debating whether they could not find some less arduous way of mustering and handling those 30,000 per annum. Four weeks passed, and the men and the system, which had struggled inadequately with their 30,000 a year, had to cope with more than 30,000 a day. There was for a while chaos. But the enthusiasm of the recruits refused to be baffled by a broken-down organization, and before

long the organization was re-established upon an adequate scale.

The civilian came to the aid of the soldier. Zealous members of Parliament commissioned themselves with a scrap of paper in Lord Kitchener's hand, fled forth to their constituencies, and began to break all the most holy regulations. In one Midland city, it is related, the local member of his own autocratic motion removed the recruiting office from a room in a poky back street to the Town Hall, engaged eight civilian doctors to help the one struggling medical officer in his work of examination, printed locally the sacred army forms for recruits, with all their apparatus of seventeen elaborate questions, and, climax of daring, ordained that the bath, which in the old days of leisure every recruit had to enter, would be cut clean out of the ritual. But this heroic reformer was only one of many. From John o' Groats to Land's End Provosts and Mayors commandeered the largest halls which their towns contained, and mustered volunteers to help the professional recruiting clerks, who were struggling for breath in the sudden avalanche of forms, pay sheets, and other complicated documents. And volunteers were sorely needed. When war broke out some 500 men were employed on recruiting. At the present moment the department commands a staff of nearly 7,000. But the local authorities did not limit their help to filling up forms. They improvised quarters for the attested recruits and organized the supply of food necessary during the hours or days which passed before the army could find a depot for each new cohort.

#### *250,000 In One Week*

Many an ardent recruit had his cause to grumble in those strenuous weeks, some may have lost for a while their eagerness to serve, and it is probable that a few men who tried hard to be among the first in the New Armies were allowed to slip through the too crowded hands of the recruiters. But there is no doubt that they were but a few. The general enthusiasm was more than enough to triumph over many rebuffs and a

host of difficulties. The recruiting officers with their staffs, old and new, paid and voluntary, kept at their work day in and day out, and night in and night out, too, so long as there were men at their doors. The time for mystery about their numbers has passed. In one week, the fifth of the war, the week which saw the first German onset hurled back, 175,000 men were enlisted for the regular army alone. Many more went into the Territorial Force. If we include those rejected by the doctors, the total number of men offering themselves to the army must have been in that one week little short of 250,000.

Within a month an army of some 250,000 had become an army of 1,000,000 and many more. That statement, precisely true in itself, quite fails to express the truth about the situation. For the 500,000 of peace were not all in England, and of those who were in England not all were with the colors. So the War Office, called on at a month's notice to feed, equip, and train these new armies of far more than double the demands of peace time, was enmeshed in difficulties. We should be cautious of exaggerating our unreadiness. Due preparations had been made in peace for the military establishments in prospect. Adequate reserves of material had been accumulated. But the wave of recruits swept these reserves away as the tide blots out a child's sand castle. Shelter, food, clothing, equipment, arms, training grounds, instructors, officers—what there was of all these necessities was as nothing for the gathering battalions. Food, indeed, existed, but none of the other things were in the world at all. Even food could not be had in the right place and at the right time, in the lack of any organization for collection and distribution.

If the provision of clothing and equipment was difficult, the provision of arms seemed to be a task demanding miracles. Yet the supply of arms was a simple matter compared with the supply of Drill Sergeants and instructors. Machinery can make rifles. But we have no machinery for making noncommissioned officers. The raw recruit, how-

ever intelligent, however zealous, needed months of training. Most of the officers and noncommissioned officers to whom the task of instruction should have fallen were at the front. If every one of them had been available they would have been all too few for the new armies. So before the work of making the recruit into a soldier could be begun the War Office had to discover instructors and Drill Sergeants and put them to the test.

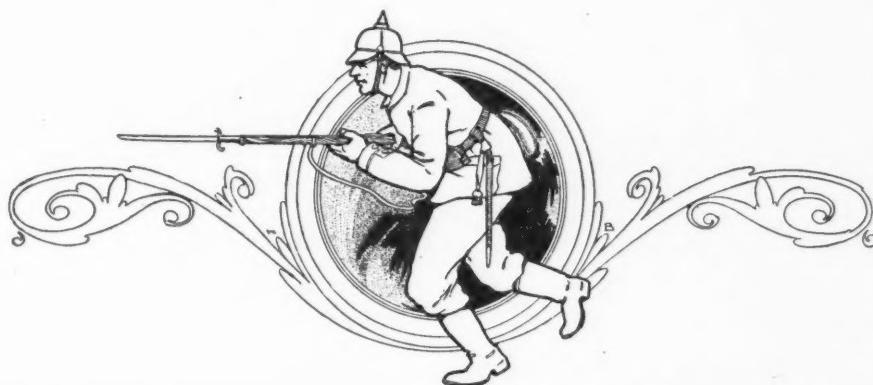
#### *End of the First Phase*

A month after Kitchener's first call for men he had more than he knew what to do with. Swarms of recruits for whom no proper provision could be made were obviously mere waste of the national substance. And still more men came in. Everybody now can see what ought to have been done. If some organizer with the gift of prophecy had, in the September of 1914, conceived and brought into use Lord Derby's group system, attested every man who came, and sent him back home to wait his turn, the ardent enthusiasm of those first days of war might have given us every man who can usefully be taken for the army. The controversies and the anxieties of later months might all have been spared. But since nobody thought of a group system in 1914, we can hardly blame the War Office for not adopting it.

Something had to be done. Like a

fairy tale heroine buried in the gold for which she had prayed, the War Office was in danger of being overwhelmed by its hordes of recruits. The rush could not be allowed to go on. On Sept. 11 it was decided to raise the standard of physique. The hint was quickly taken. The expedient was only too successful. Men naturally supposed that the War Office had got all and more than all the men it wanted. At the end of a week of the new standard the recruits obtained for the regular army were less than a third of those of the previous week, and the weekly number went on falling till it became less than one-ninth of the rate of those early days.

So we pass from the first phase of recruiting. We may, perhaps, regret the rather prosaic end. We may fancy that something more of ingenuity, of foresight, of imagination in high places might have served the nation well. But we shall not easily be persuaded that the fall in recruiting was evidence of any failure of the national resolution, any weakening in the spirit of her manhood. "The crucial period in the history of recruiting," as Mr. Lloyd George reminded us the other day, was not that of the group system nor of the controversy upon compulsion, but those first weeks of enthusiasm. What was done then decided the part which our country is to play in the contest, the issue, if not the course of the war.



# Two Years of British Achievement

Address by ex-Premier Herbert H. Asquith

[Delivered Dec. 19, 1916.]

Mr. Asquith's first speech in the House of Commons after his resignation of the Premiership was delivered at the same session as that of Premier Lloyd George, (which appeared in full in the January CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.) It presented a valuable survey of what Great Britain had achieved in the direction of victory during his term of office, and was punctuated with an amount of friendly applause such as has seldom been accorded to the leader of a retiring Ministry.

MY first duty, and it is a very agreeable one, is to congratulate my right honorable friend [Lloyd George] with all my heart upon his accession to the highest and most responsible place in the service of the Crown. No one knows better, no one knows as well as I do, the extent and the degree of the care, labors, anxieties which at a time like this incumbency of that office brings with it. I earnestly hope for him, not only for his own sake, but for the sake of the country and the empire, that he will sustain a full measure of physical strength and energy, and I can assure him he will have in the prosecution of a task of unexampled magnitude and difficulty the whole-hearted sympathy of persons of all classes and all parties in this House. \* \* \*

It is eleven years now since I spoke from this side of the House, and if I speak from it today it is not because I claim in any sense to be the leader of what is called an Opposition. Opposition I believe there is none. It is not even because I have had in the course of the last few weeks most gratifying testimony that I retain the confidence of my old political associates, at whose side, and in later years at whose head, I have fought in all the great domestic controversies of

the last thirty years. I do not stand here and speak here as the head of the Liberal Party. I have been for the last two and a half years the person mainly responsible for the conduct of this war.

I do not care for the moment by whom the Government is conducted, although I am very glad to see a man of such ability as my right honorable friend in the place which he so worthily occupies—whatever experience I have gained, for whatever it is worth, is at the disposal of the Government.

I would not, indeed, devote a sentence to my own personal position were it not that I have had the honor of being leader of this House for the best part of nine years, and, with that record behind me, I am proud

to think that, to whatever quarter of the House I turn, I see the faces not only of fellow-members, but of friends. They will understand me when I say, on the one hand, it is to me a relief, and in some ways an unspeakable relief, to be released from a daily burden which has lately been carried under almost insupportable conditions, and, on the other hand, a matter for natural and deep regret that I should be compelled to leave unfinished a task at which I have so long and so strenuously worked. Let that suffice on the personal question.

But, apart from and beyond any per-



HERBERT H. ASQUITH  
British Premier, Resigned

sonal consideration, I wish to deal with the suggestion, not, indeed, I agree, put forward in the least by my right honorable friend—he would be the last to do it—but industriously circulated outside, that in some vaguely defined way the late Government had failed or were failing in the resolute and effective prosecution of this war. I am not going for a moment to assume the attitude or to adopt the language of apology. Errors of judgment, defects of method, there may have been, and there undoubtedly have been. Not only our gallant allies, but the enemy himself, if he were for once in a candid mood, would make the same confession. But that there has been slackness or lethargy, infirmity of purpose, above all, want of thoroughness and want of whole-heartedness in our concentration upon our common task, not only on my own behalf, but on behalf of my late colleagues, as well those who sit upon that bench as those who sit upon this, I emphatically deny.

#### *Slingers of Mud*

The full story cannot, of course, be yet told. The critics in time of war—I refer not merely to irresponsible slingers of mud, but to honest and patriotic lookers-on—have the enormous dialectical advantage that, while they are free to speak and write—some people think a little too freely—the men whom they are attacking are of necessity, by the responsibilities of their position, by their duty to our naval and military officers, and by their obligation to our allies, to a large extent tonguetied. That is not a new phenomenon. It is one that has been observed ever since public opinion found daily or weekly articulate expression. It was so in the days of Lord Chatham, in the days of Pitt, in the time of the Napoleonic struggle, and never more conspicuously than in days most critical, when Castlereagh and Wellington were the favorite targets for the darts of the omniscient amateur.

I would only say this: that I am quite content, when all the facts come to be disclosed, to leave my administration and the part which I myself played in it to the judgment of history. Meantime I ask

the House to accompany me in a brief general survey. When this war was forced upon us and our allies, after every conceivable effort had been made by my noble friend, Viscount Grey—who had justly earned in the preceding years the title of “the peacemaker of Europe”—we had not an army on a continental scale. It was never any part of our policy to create or maintain such an army. What has been done by this country since the outbreak of war is no inconsiderable achievement. But there were two factors from the first which we have been able to contribute to the common cause which are peculiarly and essentially our own—naval supremacy and financial resource. I do not intend at this moment to appraise the relevant importance of these three factors—military, naval, and financial—but I am certain the last two, taken together, have not been less potent or less weighty than the first.

It very soon became apparent that in all three domains not only we, but all the allied powers, had to confront entirely novel conditions. On land we have seen a combination of the last refinements of modern science in the arts and mechanism of destruction, and a revival of methods and practices of mediaeval, or even earlier, times.

#### *Work of the Navy*

On the sea—and I want to call particular attention to this—it took a comparatively short time for our navy to clear the ocean of the cruisers and the armed merchantmen that were preying on our commerce, and the enemy has very rarely indulged our sailors in the luxury of a stand-up fight on the open sea. But the novel feature of the war in that respect, of course, has been the development of the mine and the submarine. Even that development would have been far less formidable if it had not been accompanied, as it has been, by the systematic violation of all the established conventions and practices of international law.

You cannot protect the oceans of the world against the possible torpedoing of trading ships. It is an impossible task. This practice is carried on, I am certain

—let us say so much for the quality of our foe—by men who are acting against their own will and under instructions of a superior power which compels them to defy all the rules in regard to capture and prizes which have hitherto been held sacred in maritime warfare. Much has been done in the course of the last eighteen months by a vigilant and ceaseless observation and by devices I need not describe to minimize the danger. For months past we have been anxiously engaged in providing armament for our merchant ships, which is the best, and in the long run the most efficient, safeguard.

But important as that is, it does not compare with the vital urgency of what has become the primary duty of our fleet—the maintenance of the blockade. To enable it to perform that duty with ever-increasing efficiency the number of auxiliary vessels has during the last two years been multiplied to enormous dimensions. There are complaints, I know, that out of tenderness for neutrals the blockade is not as stringent as it should be. There is no department of the war in which the problems to be confronted are more delicate and difficult. For my part I rejoice to think this department is still in the skilled and most capable hands of my noble friend, (Lord R. Cecil.) But great as the difficulties are, the evidence which comes from many different quarters is irresistible and overwhelming that it is the steady, ever-tightening pressure exerted by our navy which is sapping the springs of German vitality and turning the thoughts and hopes of the mass of their people in the direction of peace.

#### *The Question of Finance*

As to finance, here again we have to deal with unexampled conditions. We have as our enemy in this war—and it lies at the root of almost all our difficulties—in the two Central Powers we have two countries which are geographically contiguous, which are on the economic side to a large extent mutually self-supporting, and which were fully equipped at the outset of the war with a practically unlimited supply of munitions. In this respect, as in the sphere both of diplomacy and strategy, he started with,

and he has maintained, the initial advantage of waging war on interior lines.

Exactly the reverse has been the case of the Allies. It is sufficient to say that, while their power of exporting goods, particularly in the case of France, to some extent, of Italy, and, of course, the whole of Belgium, has been largely curtailed, gigantic imports of food, munitions, and a hundred other necessities of war have had to be taken from neutral countries, and for the financing of these transactions, as well as for the transport of the commodities themselves, Great Britain has made herself primarily and mainly responsible.

Serious as the prospect is in many respects, that there has been no breakdown in the performance of a task so unprecedented reflects the greatest credit on the departments and on the members of the various committees who have assisted in their work—committees wholly composed of volunteers, who have given unstintedly their time and energy to the public without notoriety and without reward.

I trust and believe that in the reorganization of some of the departments and in the creation of the new offices—with the general purpose of which I am in complete sympathy—full use will continue to be made of this invaluable reservoir of organized voluntary effort. You cannot get on without it; you cannot dispense with what has been to us one of the most valuable auxiliaries in the discharge of the great responsibility of carrying on the war. The prospect in regard to finance and transport is, in my judgment, a very serious one. It is not so serious as to justify misgiving, and still less alarm. It will not be solved, any more than will any other of the problems of the war—as some of our outside critics, who are apt to mistake bustle for business and vehemence for strength, are inclined to think—it will not be solved by short cuts or by a series of coups-de-main.

#### *The Military Situation*

Before I speak of the future, let me add one word as to the military situation. I agree with what my right honorable friend said about Rumania. It has been

a bad business. It is not possible at this moment, even if it were desirable, to apportion the different degrees of responsibility for it, yet I agree that it is a very good illustration of the desirability, nay, the urgent necessity, of more intimate co-operation between the General Staffs and the politicians of the allied Governments. It is very easy to say: Why have you not brought that about? An alliance of this kind, working under these conditions, is without any example in history, and during the last twelve months at any rate the constant interchange of communication and confidence between ourselves and the French has grown into a practice which may now be regarded as one of the normal incidents of our allied conduct. If the Prime Minister and his colleagues can bring about more intimate communication he will have rendered one of the greatest services it is possible to render to the Allies, and I wish him all success in that effort.

But the outstanding military feature of the last few months is undoubtedly the operations on the Somme. So far as our own army is concerned, I believe there is universal agreement that they have been carried out with the utmost skill, tenacity, and courage by Sir Douglas Haig and his officers. Their primary and immediate object was the relief of Verdun. Verdun had been for months the principal objective of German strategy. The Crown Prince had hurled against it the finest troops in his army. It sustained, I suppose, the most terrific and prolonged bombardment of any fortress in history. The loss of Verdun would have been the greatest blow to the allied cause since the beginning of the war. How do we stand today? Not only is Verdun not lost, but the work which took the enemy months of costly effort has been wholly undone, and today we congratulate the gallant General Nivelle and his heroic army on the glorious success of their new offensive. But the operations on the Somme have done much more than to relieve Verdun. They have prevented the withdrawal of large bodies of troops from the west to the east, inflicted enormous casualties on the enemy—far greater, I believe, than he has inflicted on us and the French combined—and last, and perhaps most sig-

nificant of all, there is overwhelming evidence that while the morale of our troops, always magnificent, has steadily enhanced, the morale of the enemy has steadily declined.

#### *The German Peace Proposals*

I think what I have said is sufficient to show that the use we have made of the methods open to us—naval, military, and economic—has not been ineffectual, and if further proof were required it is to be found in the so-called peace proposals which have been somewhat clumsily projected into space from Berlin. It is true that these proposals are wrapped up in the familiar dialect of Prussian arrogance, but how comes it that a nation which after two years of war professes itself conscious of military superiority and confident of ultimate victory, should begin to whisper, nay, not to whisper, but to shout so that all the world can hear it, the word "peace"? Is it a sudden access of chivalry? Why and when has the German Chancellor become so acutely sensitive to what he calls the dictates of humanity? No; without being uncharitable we may well look elsewhere for the origin of this pronouncement. It is born of military and economic necessity.

When I moved the last vote of credit I said there was no one among us who did not yearn for peace, but that it must be an honorable and not a shamefaced peace; it must be a peace that promised to be durable and not a patched-up and precarious compromise; it must be a peace which achieved the purpose for which we entered on the war. Such a peace we would gladly accept. Anything short of it we were bound to repudiate by every obligation of honor, and, above all, by the debt we owe to those, and especially to the young, who have given their lives for what they and we believed to be a worthy cause.

Since I spoke two months ago their ranks have been sadly and steadily reinforced. I should like to refer in passing for a moment to one of them, a friend and colleague of mine, Lord Lucas. Apart from the advantages of birth and fortune, he was a man of singularly winning personality, fine intelligence, and with the

strongest sense of public duty. He worked inconspicuously but hard in the early days of the territorial army. He served for some years at the War Office, and afterward became a member of the Cabinet. At the time of the coalition he stood aside without a murmur and volunteered straightaway for the Royal Flying Corps. Now he has met his death in a gallant reconnoitring raid over the German lines. He was not, I think, more than 40. He had a full and fruitful life. Nor can we nor ought we forget the countless victims, both among our own people and among our allies, of the ruthless and organized violation of the humane restrictions by which both on land and sea the necessary horrors of war have been hitherto mitigated. For my own part, I say plainly and emphatically that I see nothing in the note of the German Government which gives me the least reason to believe that they are in a mood to give to the Allies what the last time I spoke I declared to be essential—reparation and security.

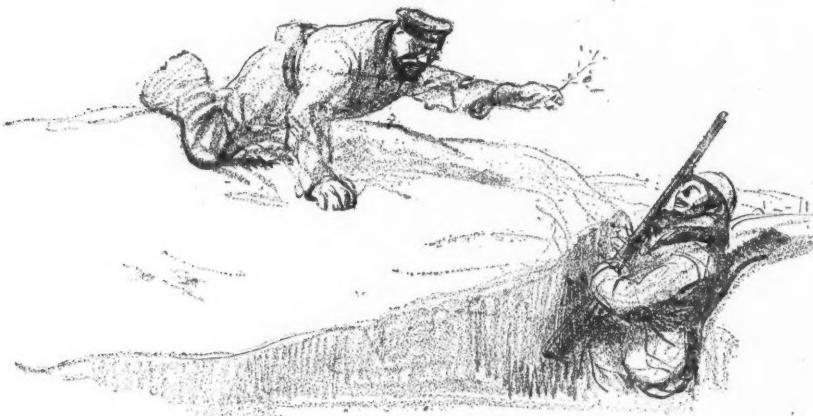
#### *The Only Way of Peace*

If they are in the right mood—if they

are prepared to give us reparation for the past and security for the future, let them say so. While I was at the head of the Government, on several occasions I indicated, I believe, in quite unambiguous language, the minimum of the Allies' demands before they put up their swords, as well as the general character of the ultimate international status upon which our hopes and desires are set. I have no longer authority to speak for the Government or the nation, but I do not suppose the House or the country is going back from what I said in their name and on their behalf. It is not we that stand in the way of peace when we decline, as I hope we shall, to enter blindfold into parleys which start from nothing, and therefore can lead to nothing. Peace we all desire, but peace can only come—peace, I mean, that is worthy the name and that satisfies the definition of the word—peace will only come on the terms that atonement is made for past wrongs, that the weak and the downtrodden are restored, and that the faith of treaties and the sovereignty of public law are securely enthroned over the nations of the world.

[French Cartoon]

#### Germany's Olive Branch



—Forain in *Le Figaro*, Paris.

FRENCH SOLDIER: "It is true, then—you are as badly off as that!"

# Naval Power in the Present War

By Lieutenant Charles C. Gill

United States Navy

*Lieutenant Gill of the superdreadnought Oklahoma is writing for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE a series of articles covering all the chief naval events of the present war, with a view especially to the lessons they convey. In this article, the second of the series, he tells the story of the outstanding naval engagements of the first year. In his battle descriptions he aims less at completeness of detail than at the selection of those features which supply data useful for the deducing of lessons in naval warfare.*

## II.—Coronel, Falkland, and Dardanelles Engagements

**I**N following the naval developments of the present war it is of interest to note that nothing startling has happened to upset expert predictions, either as to the part sea power would take, or as to which of the belligerent navies would dominate. In the course of the fighting there have not been any great surprises. Generally speaking, results have squared with the degree and kind of naval preparations made by the respective warring nations during the previous years of peace. This war seems to have pretty well exposed the fetish that an untrained citizenry, armed with wonderful inventions supplied on the spur of the moment by native ingenuity, can be depended upon to overcome skilled armies and navies.

Neither an army nor a navy can be improvised, but it is an important difference between them that an army can be prepared more quickly and easily than can a navy. At the outbreak of this war Great Britain's army was small and relatively insignificant, but her powerful fleet was ready. Under the protection of this first line of defense a great army has in two and a half years been recruited from British possessions all over the world, and equipped and trained. Navies cannot be so readily built up, and, unless there are marked discrepancies between the losses sustained by the belligerents, their relative naval strength will remain about the same. There is always the chance, of course, that one side or the other will hit upon some revolutionizing invention. It does not necessarily follow, because none has appeared in the first two and a half years of the con-

flict, that none will appear, or even that, had we been a party to the fighting, Yankee ingenuity would not have produced one; but there is, nevertheless, evidence that in shaping a policy of defense it is safer to heed the lessons of experience than to rely upon a mere theory of inventive abilities adequate to meet any situation. The large defense appropriation voted by the recent Congress indicates the attitude of the American people on this point.

The next step is to determine as accurately as possible just what these lessons of the war are.

Careful analysis of the battles fought in previous wars has contributed much to naval science. There is, however, by reason of improvements in ships and guns, a continual changing of conditions, which affects the application of strategic and tactical principles. If useful conclusions are to be arrived at, it is advisable, therefore, to examine naval activities of the present war as closely as is possible in the light of all available information. In attempting this, the handicap of insufficient and unreliable data is admitted, but even if some of the premises are slightly in error, still, the inferences drawn will have value so long as they are logical and agree with accepted naval opinion.

### *Sea Events of Early Months*

In the first month of the war there were no big naval battles. Liveliness, however, was shown in numerous ways. On Aug. 6, 1914, the British light cruiser Amphion was sunk by striking a mine in the North Sea. On Sept. 22, 1914, the British armored cruisers Aboukir, Hogue,

and Cressy, while patrolling in home waters, were sunk by a single German submarine. When the Aboukir was torpedoed, the two sister ships went to her assistance, thereby presenting easy targets to the waiting submarine. By this disaster the obvious lesson was learned that areas near torpedoed ships are dangerous, and should be avoided by large vessels, or at least approached with caution.

In the early months of the war, besides using mines and submarines, both sides were busy mobilizing their fighting strength and making various strategical dispositions of ships and fleets. Incident to this and to commerce destroying carried on in all parts of the world, there were some brisk encounters between single ships and a few minor engagements between cruiser detachments. A noteworthy piece of fighting occurred off Heligoland Bight on Aug. 28, 1914, when the Germans lost three light cruisers and one destroyer, while the British suffered minor damages, without losing any ships.

The chief point of interest in this spirited action is that Admiral Beatty, in supporting his light cruisers and destroyers, dared mines and torpedoes, took six battle cruisers almost under the guns of the German fortress, struck his blow, evaded submarine attacks by manoeuvring, and escaped without losing a ship.

These activities are interesting, and sometimes important in result; but the scope of this paper is limited to a consideration of the more important operations. The first to be taken up is the battle off Coronel, in which a German cruiser squadron defeated a British cruiser squadron.

#### *The Battle Off Coronel*

At the beginning of the war the British armored cruisers Good Hope and Monmouth, together with the light cruiser Glasgow and transport Otranto, were in Atlantic waters off the coast of the Americas. These ships rendezvoused off Brazil and proceeded south around Cape Horn, evidently with the mission to find and destroy German vessels. The old battleship Canopus was also in these waters, but apparently did

not cruise in company with the other ships because of her inferior speed.

At this time German ships in the Pacific included the armored cruisers Scharnhörst and Gneisenau, the light cruiser Nürnberg, and the light cruiser Leipzig. These ships in the Pacific, together with the light cruiser Dresden, then in South Atlantic waters, proceeded at the outbreak of the war, apparently in accordance with a prearranged plan, to rendezvous off the coast of Western South America.

Comparing the strategic dispositions of the belligerents in this rather remote theatre of war, it is seen that in the latter part of October, 1914, the British Admiral, Sir Christopher Cradock, had under his command two armored cruisers, one light cruiser, and one battleship, while the German Admiral, Count von Spee, had two armored cruisers and three light cruisers, thus giving the British a superiority of about 8,000 tons in displacement and about 2,200 pounds in weight of broadside. These figures, however, are misleading, because they do not truly measure the fighting values of the two groups. The German ships were newer and their squadron more homogeneous in both guns and speed. The British ships were a heterogeneous collection of less modern vessels, with the principal fighting strength in an old battleship of only sixteen knots speed, which did not get into the engagement at all. With the Canopus out of the battle line, the Germans had considerable advantage in tonnage and in weight of broadside.

The information now available seems to afford evidence of superior strategy on the part of Germany. All the more credit is due on account of Germany's marked inferiority in total of sea power, with consequently greater difficulties confronting Admiral Spee, beset as he was by Japanese squadrons as well as by British squadrons, and without any naval bases in which to seek refuge and comfort.

The movements of these squadrons up to the day of the battle have been considered as strategical because they were in preparation for fighting. We now turn

A FRENCH ARTILLERY BATTERY IN ACTION ON THE SOMME



These Heavy Guns Are Keeping Up a Steady Fire Against the German Positions, Miles Away, Depending Solely Upon Telephonic Directions for Their Aim

(Photo from *Press Illustrating Co.*)

A SECTION OF THE GERMAN TRENCH LINES IN FRANCE



This Unique Photograph Was Taken from a French Aeroplane Which Flew So Low That the Germans Can Be Seen in the Trenches. Note the Holes Made by French Shells. The Place Is Soyeourt

(Photo from Underwood & Underwood.)

to the tactical phases which have to do with the execution of the fighting.

#### *Positions of Opposing Squadrons*

On the afternoon of Nov. 1, 1914, the British squadron was spread out in scouting formation, steaming along the coast of Chile, looking for enemy ships. The light cruiser Glasgow had been dispatched to Coronel to send cables. She left there at 9 A. M., Nov. 1, and while steaming to the northward sighted the German squadron at about 4 P. M. At about 5 P. M. the British ships formed in line ahead, the Good Hope leading, followed by the Monmouth, Glasgow, and Otranto. The battleship Canopus was about 250 miles to the southward. Admiral von Spee formed his ships in line ahead, the Scharnhörst leading, followed by the Gneisenau, with the Dresden about one mile in the rear and the Nürnberg far behind. At 6:07 P. M. the two squadrons were on nearly parallel southerly courses, about 15,000 yards apart, with the German line inshore.

There was a heavy sea and strong wind from one to two points to the eastward of south, and the German ships were able to make their course a little to the westward of south, bringing this heavy sea on their unengaged bow. On the other hand, the British carried wind and sea a little on the engaged bow, a marked disadvantage, making their six-inch guns, especially the lower tier, practically useless. It is to be noted that the German 8.2-inch guns were mounted higher and were better for fighting in a seaway. Practically all that the British had to oppose the twelve 8.2-inch guns of the Germans were two old 9.2-inch turret guns on board the Good Hope. An additional disadvantage was that the British ships were silhouetted against the twilight sky, supplying an excellent point of aim for the Germans.

At this time Admiral Cradock was no doubt doing some hard thinking. Should he engage with such big odds against him? There was the Canopus, his main fighting strength, 250 miles to the southward. By bearing off sharply to the westward, even at this late hour, the speeds of the two squadrons were so

nearly equal that he could have avoided engaging that night and by morning he could have most likely joined up with the Canopus and fought the battle on a more equal footing. It would be interesting to know what thoughts flashed through the Admiral's mind and what counsels prevailed upon him to make the courageous but fateful decision embodied in his signal to the Canopus at 6:18 P. M., "I am going to attack the enemy now."

#### *Admiral Spee's Report*

The two squadrons gradually neared each other on converging courses, and Vice Admiral von Spee describes the battle as follows:

Wind and swell were head on and the vessels had heavy going, especially the small cruisers on both sides. Observation and distance estimation were under a severe handicap because of the seas which washed over the bridges. The swell was so great that it obscured the aim of the gunners at the six-inch guns on the middle deck, who could not see the sterns of the enemy ships at all and the bows but seldom. At 6:20 P. M., at a distance of 13,400 yards, I turned one point toward the enemy, and at 6:34 opened fire at a distance of 11,260 yards. The guns of both our armored cruisers were effective, and by 6:39 already we could note the first hit on the Good Hope. I at once resumed a parallel course instead of bearing slightly toward the enemy.

The English opened their fire at this time. I assume that the heavy sea made more trouble for them than it did for us. Their two armored cruisers remained covered by our fire, while they, so far as could be determined, hit the Scharnhörst but twice and the Gneisenau only four times.

At 6:53, when 6,500 yards apart, I ordered a course one point away from the enemy. They were firing more slowly at this time, while we were able to count numerous hits. We could see, among other things, that the top of the Monmouth's forward turret had been shot away and that a violent fire was burning in the turret. The Scharnhörst, it is thought, hit the Good Hope about thirty-five times.

In spite of our altered course the English changed theirs sufficiently so that the distance between us shrunk to 5,300 yards. There was reason to suspect that the enemy despaired of using his artillery effectively and was manoeuvring for a torpedo attack. The position of the moon, which had risen at 6 o'clock, was favorable to this move. Accordingly I gradually opened up further distances between the squadrons by another deflection of the leading ship at 7:45. In the meantime it had grown dark. The range

finders on the Scharnhörst used the fire on the Monmouth as a guide for a time, though eventually all range finding, aiming, and observations became so inexact that firing was stopped at 7:26.

At 7:23 a column of fire from an explosion was noticed between the stacks of the Good Hope. The Monmouth apparently stopped firing at 7:20. The small cruisers, including the Nürnberg, received by wireless at 7:30 the order to follow the enemy and to attack his ships with torpedoes. Vision was somewhat obscured at this time by a rain squall. The light cruisers were not able to find the Good Hope, but the Nürnberg encountered the Monmouth, and at 8:58 was able by shots at closest range to capsize her without a single shot being fired in return. Rescue work in the heavy sea was not to be thought of, especially as the Nürnberg immediately afterward believed she had sighted the smoke of another ship and had to prepare for a new attack.

The small cruisers had neither losses nor damage in the battle. On the Gneisenau there were two men slightly wounded. The crews of the ships went into the fight with enthusiasm, every one did his duty and played his part in the victory.

In concluding the account of this battle it may be said that little criticism can be advanced against the tactics used by Vice Admiral Spee. He appears to have manoeuvred so as to secure the advantage of light, wind, and sea. He also seems to have suited himself as regards the range. The Good Hope and Monmouth were destroyed, the Glasgow had a narrow and lucky escape, while the German losses were two slightly wounded.

#### Falkland Island Engagement

After the battle off Coronel, while the German squadron coaled at Valparaiso and made its way in no great hurry around Cape Horn, the British were not idle. Within ten days of the receipt of the news of the British disaster in the South Pacific the dreadnought battle cruisers Invincible and Inflexible, under

command of Vice Admiral Sturdee, were on their way to the Falkland Islands, a wireless and coaling station off the southeast coast of South America. It would appear that Admiral Spee contemplated an attack on the Falklands, and it would also appear that he did not anticipate the vigorous and alert strategy of his enemy. Had he done so he surely would have either tried to time his visit earlier or else have abandoned it entirely.

As a matter of ordinary precaution it seems strange that he did not send a scout ship ahead to reconnoitre, or at least he might have planned to arrive in the late afternoon, which would have given his ships a good chance to escape from a superior force under cover of darkness. On the other hand, little criticism can be made of England's strategy, which provided, on the morning of Dec. 8, when the German squadron hove in sight of the lookout ship off the Falkland harbor

entrance, an opposing fighting force at anchor within, consisting of two battle cruisers, the Invincible and Inflexible; three armored cruisers, the Carnarvon, Cornwall, and Kent; the light cruisers Bristol and Glasgow, and the predreadnought battleship Canopus.

The German squadron was the same as off Coronel—two armored cruisers, the Scharnhörst and Gneisenau, and three light cruisers, the Leipzig, Nürnberg, and Dresden.

The total tonnage of the British ships was 87,000—nearly three times that of the German total, which was 35,500, while the total weight of the British broadside was 9,566 kilograms, nearly five times that of the German total, which was 2,032 kilograms.

In addition to the above-mentioned



VICE ADMIRAL VON SPEE  
(Photo © Brown Bros.)

fighting ships, the converted cruiser Macedonia was acting as a lookout ship for the British, and the steamships Baden and Santa Isabel were in the train of the German squadron. The British ships had arrived at 10:30 A. M. the day before and had begun coaling at once. At the time of the engagement the battle cruisers, though not filled up, had plenty of fuel on board, and the fact that they were a little light in draft favored their speed.

At 8 A. M. the German ships were sighted, and orders were given to raise steam for full speed. The high land hid the main British force, and at 9:20 the Gneisenau and the Nürnberg, with guns trained on the wireless station, had closed to within 11,000 yards of the Canopus, which opened fire at them across the low land with her twelve-inch guns. The Germans hoisted their colors and turned away from their hidden foe, but a few minutes later turned to port, as though to close on the Kent, at the entrance of the harbor. Then the British battle cruisers were sighted, and the two German ships altered course and increased their speed to join their consorts.

At 9:45 A. M. the British squadron, less the Bristol, got under way and headed for the German ships, which were clearly in sight hull down. The sea was calm, with a light breeze from the northwest. The visibility was at a maximum, under a bright sun in a clear sky. At 10:20 signal for a general chase was made, but the battle cruisers eased speed to twenty knots, to allow the other cruisers to get in station.

#### *Tactics of the Battle*

Three enemy ships, probably transports or colliers, were sighted off Port Pleasant, and the Bristol was ordered to take the Macedonia in company and destroy the transports. It is to be noted that the Bristol, a sister ship to the Glasgow, was faster and better armed than any of the German light cruisers, and was also three and one-half knots faster than the British armored cruisers Carnarvon, Cornwall, and Kent. The reasons for sending a twenty-six-and-one-half-knot ship instead of a twenty-

three-knot ship after the transports are not very clear, especially as the Bristol and the Glasgow were the only two ships besides the battle cruisers fast enough to catch the Nürnberg and the Dresden.

The British squadron, as a unit, was not able to close on the German squadron, and at 11:20 Vice Admiral Sturdee decided to attack with his faster ships, the Invincible, Inflexible, and Glasgow. These three all had a speed of twenty-six and one-half knots, and were able to close quickly on the Scharnhorst and Gneisenau, which had a speed of only twenty-three and one-half knots. At 12:55 the battle cruisers opened fire on the German light cruiser Leipzig at a range of 16,500 to 15,000 yards. A half hour later the German light cruisers turned to the southwest and spread, in an effort to escape. The armored cruisers Cornwall and Kent and the light cruiser Glasgow gave chase, while the battle cruisers and the Carnarvon kept on after the Scharnhorst and Gneisenau. Admiral Sturdee kept, for the most part, at a range of between 16,000 and 12,000 yards, destroying the enemy with his twelve-inch guns in rather leisurely fashion, without getting within the effective range of the German 8.2-inch guns. At 4:17 P. M. the Scharnhorst sank, with her flag flying. The Gneisenau kept up the unequal fight, but at 6 P. M. she also sank with her flag flying.

In the chase after the light cruisers the Glasgow was the only ship with superior speed, but she was able to engage the Nürnberg and Leipzig, delaying them enough to give the Cornwall and Kent a chance to get into action. The Leipzig sank at 9 P. M. and the Nürnberg was sunk by the Kent at 7:27 P. M.

The Dresden escaped. Hindsight is always better than foresight, and we should be slow to criticise without knowing full particulars, but one cannot help wondering at the tactical disposition of the Bristol and questioning if the Dresden would have escaped had the Bristol been on hand to help the Glasgow. The Bristol, to be sure, accomplished her assigned mission in destroying the German steamships. But could not the three-knot slower armored cruiser Carnarvon

have done this equally well? As it was, the Carnarvon served no useful purpose, and no avail was made of the valuable speed asset of the Bristol.

The British lost nine killed and about the same number wounded. All the German ships except the Dresden were sunk, and only about 200 men were saved from the total complements. This decisive naval action gave the Allies practically undisputed control of the high seas.

#### *The Dardanelles Operations*

Turning now from the South Atlantic to South European waters, the next event to be taken up is the attack on the Dardanelles, an attempt on the part of the Allies to cut off Asia Minor from Turkey, capture Constantinople, and open up ship communication with Russia's Black Sea ports.

If this enterprise had succeeded it would have completely changed the Balkan situation to the advantage of the allied cause; but it failed, and, measured by the losses in ships, in soldiers, and in prestige, it was a costly failure. In view of the confusing tangle of rumors, half-truths and truths, we had better not try to look too closely at the details, but rather limit our present discussion to the broader and more general aspects of the operations.

The allied fleet at the Dardanelles included the British ships, one superdreadnought, one battle cruiser, sixteen predreadnoughts, and nine cruisers; seven French predreadnoughts, three French cruisers, and one Russian cruiser. Altogether, a powerful fleet of twenty-four battleships and fourteen cruisers, with attending destroyers, submarines, and auxiliaries. It is reported that later this fleet was reinforced by monitors and cruisers especially fitted to resist mines and torpedoes.

Just what the plan of attack was is not very clear. In fact, there seems to have been a lack of definite plan, or, if there was one, it may be that unity of action was lacking. There is a report that miscarriage in the arrangements for collecting and transporting troops caused much delay. Finally, it appears to have been decided to make an attempt to dom-

inate the forts with the gunfire of the fleet.

On March 18, 1915, a violent attack was begun, in which three battleships were lost and other vessels damaged. The Commander in Chief, Vice Admiral Carden, had been incapacitated by illness two days before the attack. His successor, Vice Admiral de Robeck, made this significant report on the day following the attack: "The power of the fleet to dominate the fortresses by superiority of fire seems to be established. Various other dangers and difficulties will have to be encountered, but nothing has happened which justifies the belief that the cost of the undertaking will exceed what has always been expected and provided for."

It appears, however, that due to improperly loaded transports and general mismanagement the army was not ready and orders were received to discontinue this naval attack and wait. About six weeks later (April 25 to 26) took place the famous combined land and sea attack, in which the allied troops attained at a great cost a slight footing on the peninsula. The guns of the fleet afforded a covering fire for the troops, but do not appear to have made a very heavy bombardment at the time of this landing. The Turks evidently had made the most of the six weeks' delay and were well prepared. On June 4 attempts to advance were made without great success.

On Aug. 6 to 8, having been strengthened by reinforcements, the Allies made another great effort, in which the navy took an important part. This battle also was unsuccessful. There was not much hard fighting after the month of August. Sir Ian Hamilton, the British Commander in Chief, asked for numerous reinforcements, but they were denied, and he was recalled to England. In the early part of the following January the allied armies evacuated the ground they had fought so hard to gain and re-embarked. The Allies lost five British predreadnoughts, one French predreadnought, and about 120,000 men. The cost of the expedition, ship losses not included, was about \$1,000,000,000.

The decision to attempt forcing the

Dardanelles has been much criticised, and it appears indeed to have been a formidable undertaking. But whether or not it was unwise to attempt it is a debatable question. A successful attack upon the Dardanelles might well have become of the very first importance and produced results which would have quickly been felt in the main eastern and western theatres of the war. Consider for a moment the position of Russia at that time: A vast empire, with millions of men mobilized, crammed with surplus stores of wheat, yet for all practical purposes more cut off from the rest of the world than Germany. The White Sea was ice-bound, and Archangel, which is indifferently served by its railway, would not be open until some time in May. The Baltic was practically sealed. The way to the Black Sea was closed by the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus. Vladivostok was too far away to be of much use. Russia was in bonds, and it was the duty of her allies to burst them if they could. Immeasurable advantages would follow from the opening of a clear way to Odessa. Ships laden with wheat would stream outward and ships laden with the stores and equipment, which Russia so greatly needs, would stream inward. Moreover, the resources of fighting men, food supplies, and raw materials from Turkey in Asia would be cut off from the Central Powers and any possible menace to India, the Suez, and Egypt removed.

The political results would have been equally great. The effect upon the hesitancy of the Balkan kingdoms and other neutrals would have been instant, and would have counteracted the impression created by the successful German operations against the Russians. The fall of Constantinople would probably further have meant the collapse of the Turkish offensive. The Turks would never survive a blow at their heart. The bombardment of the Dardanelles, therefore, if the Allies had been able to carry it to its logical conclusion, would have had far-reaching effects on the conduct of the war.

It is interesting here to note the analogy between the circumstances influencing the Allies to attempt to force the

Dardanelles and the circumstances during our civil war which influenced the North to open up the Mississippi. In the civil war it was desired to cut the Confederacy in two, so as to shut off the resources of Arkansas, Texas, and Louisiana from the Confederate armies and at the same time to open up communications between the Gulf and the Northern States via the Mississippi and its tributaries. Moreover, just as forcing the Dardanelles would have been a deterrent to Bulgaria's entering the war on the side of the Central Powers and would perhaps have influenced Greece and Rumania to declare for the Allies, so Farragut's capture of New Orleans deterred France from action hostile to the Union and caused Louis Napoleon to abandon his scheme to dispatch a formidable fleet to the mouth of the Mississippi and join an equal force from England with the object of repudiating the blockade as ineffectual and demanding free egress and ingress for merchantmen.

There is also some analogy between the conditions confronting Admiral Farragut, requiring him to force his way by the Confederate forts in the lower Mississippi on his way to attack New Orleans, and the conditions facing Admiral de Robeck, supposing that his mission was to force the Dardanelles in order to attack Constantinople. Admiral Farragut was brilliantly successful in running the forts and capturing New Orleans, while the Dardanelles operations ended in bitter disappointment to the Allies. It would not be wise to push the analogy too closely, because such a method of argument is full of pitfalls, and erroneous inferences might be drawn; but one cannot help reflecting upon and comparing the circumstances, methods, and results attending these two great enterprises.

Instead of condemning offhand this attempt to capture Constantinople as foolhardy in conception, it might be better to bear in mind the confident tone of Admiral de Robeck's report after the naval attack of March 18, and to ponder other possible causes of failure. Failure certainly was never due to lack of fighting qualities in the allied sailors

and soldiers, for there is probably no more heroic page in history than that recording the brave deeds done in this struggle for the Dardanelles.

#### *Principles Vindicated*

It is thus seen that in the first year of the war the allied navies converted potential control of the high seas into active control. The German cruisers in American and Far Eastern waters were skillfully drawn away from enemy-infested areas and concentrated under the command of Vice Admiral Spee off the west coast of South America. Here they gained a brief respite by defeating an inferior British squadron. But they were doomed ships, and it was only a question of time before the more powerful enemy navies would find and destroy them. This happened in the Falkland Islands engagement, which took place a month after the German victory off Coronel. Disregard-

ing a few scattered commerce destroyers, the destruction of Admiral Spee's squadron gave the Allies practically undisputed control over all waters not closely adjacent to enemy home ports.

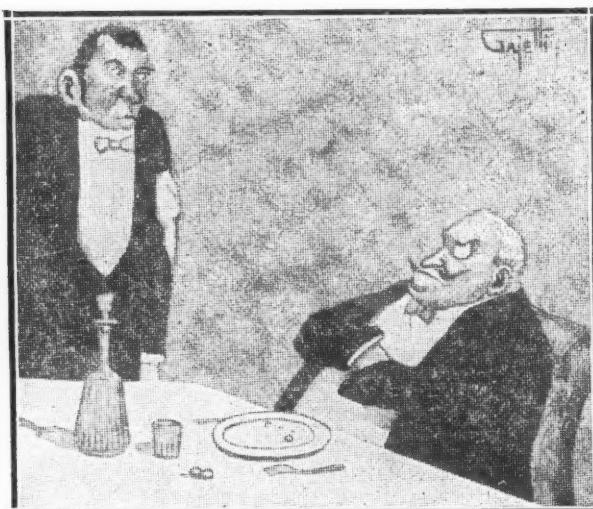
The undertaking at the Dardanelles was a different kind of strategic problem in that it was an attempt to wrest from Turkey waterways over which she had exercised authority practically since the beginning of history. This enterprise failed; and the potential defensive power proved adequate when put to the test of active resistance.

So far these naval events supply corroborative evidence to inductions grounded in the experience of past wars, thus clarifying rather than confusing the principles already more or less firmly established.

[*The next article of this series will appear in the March issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.*]

[Italian Cartoon]

#### A Feast in Berlin



—From *Il Numero*, Turin.

"Waiter, I ordered a beefsteak with peas, but I don't see the beefsteak."  
"It is under the second pea on the left."

# The New "Old Guard" of France

By John Joseph Casey  
*Of the French Foreign Legion*

The author of this article is one of the many Americans fighting in the French Foreign Legion. Before enlisting under the tricolor in August, 1914, Mr. Casey had served for years as a newspaper artist in New York, Boston, Chicago, and Philadelphia; had been graduated by the Boston Conservatory of Art, and had opened a studio in Paris and exhibited portrait paintings in the annual salons of the Société Des Artistes Français in the years 1910 and 1914. He was injured in the Champagne offensive in September, 1915, and for several days was reported missing. From January to June of the present year the badly shattered Foreign Legion underwent a stage of reorganization, in the course of which Soldier Casey found opportunity to make many sketches like the one published with this article. In July, while on leave in Paris, he married a young Frenchwoman, Mlle. Berthe Marie Arnaud. Since September he has held the dangerous post of runner, carrying military dispatches from one commander to another when the telephone lines are cut by the enemy's shell fire.

JUST by stepping into their ranks distances and distinctions are erased and the whole world becomes an exceedingly small place. Hobnobbing together are a shoe-black negro from French Dahomey, a Dane from our new island of St. Thomas, a college professor from Columbia, a former banker of Geneva, a Japanese veteran of the Russo - Japanese war, an Annamite from Tonkin, an upstanding fellow with the clear eye and chiseled face of an American Southern gentleman, a Turkish interpreter from Constantinople, and a snub-nosed Russian, an Archduke perhaps. They are all one in their blue frocks, red, baggy trousers, red képis adorned with the regimental seven-flamed grenade in brass, heavy shoes, black leather gaiters, and blue capotes with the skirts buttoned back to give the legs free play. They are the Foreign Legion of France, the Legion of Strangers from every cubbyhole of the globe.

They compose that body of 8,000 foreigners which, though organized by a decree of the French Chambers in 1831

with the stipulation that it was not to be employed on the soil of France, has won back for the republic, in the last two years, many yards of trench-gutted Gallic ground. They constitute that corps which, though admittedly the finest fighting unit in the world, had languished for nigh a hundred years without first-class standing until, on a day in August of last year, the Second Regiment of the Legion was presented with a standard by President Poincaré and thereby entered to an equal footing with regiments of the line. A twelvemonth of fighting in the greatest of all wars had won, at last, tardy recognition for La Légion Etrangère.

General de Negrier, whose memory is still beloved by the Legion, once said, "With a French regiment I could not go two hours' journey from the town, but, voilà! with a single company of the Legion I could make the tour of Tonkin." Again, when on the night of Sept. 23, 1915, the Second Regiment of the Foreign Legion trudged into the first-line trench to lead the offensive in the Champagne dash, the line regiments asked:



JOHN JOSEPH CASEY

"And who are you, that you take precedence over us in the attack?"

"La Légion."

"O-oh, La Légion Etrangère! Très bien, très bien!"

The answer was significant. Then was the manoeuvre understandable. In the French Army of today the Legion fills much the same position as the famous Old Guard once occupied in the army of Napoleon. To the ordinary French private the Légionnaires are the hearts of oak, atlantean, and adamantine.

And yet these men, who never have been known to turn their backs to the enemy, are some of them the best and more of them the worst in the world. They are foregathered from everywhere. It is an astounding, appalling admixture, the Legion, of all manner of breeds and men and rakehells, of professions honorable and proscribed, of virtues and fatuities.

On a time the men of the Legion were distributed into battalions according to their respective nationalities. Then the Legion, with its First Battalion of Swiss, its Third of Germans, its Sixth of Belgians, and its Seventh of Poles, was much similar to the old-time Knights of St. John, with their companies of Provence, Auvergne, Castille, and Aragon. But today they are all jumbled together in a terrific hodge-podge, singing in the one tongue the "Marseillaise," sharing one another's dugouts, eating the same biscuits and singe [monkey] or beef stew, and going through the engagements shoulder to shoulder, with gas masks, mouth pads, and bayonets set, with racial honors even.

It used to be said: "If you are thinking of committing suicide, join the Legion first. The Legion will cure you of all ennui; it will make a man of you." That was in the day when the two regiments were engaged in fighting outlandish tribes in Algiers, Dahomey, the Sahara, and Indo-China, and when the Legion proved the haven of all men who sought anonymity, refuge, and forgetfulness. That was the day when the corps earned its romantic nickname of "The Legion of Lost Ones."

Today, of course, some of this Delphic type are still recruited to the Legion. There is Voronoff, who recently deserted to Switzerland for five months. He certainly is a Russian, he is supposed to be a Prince in his ain countree, and, of a surety, were only his nativity taken into account, he should be fighting in a green uniform somewhere on the eastern front. There is N. Neamorin, an Oxford graduate from Calcutta, who, for some reason or other, chooses the Legion in preference to the East Indian

forces in Picardy. And there are Charpin, from perfumed Grasse, and Doumogue, a Parisian, both of whom might be serving with regular regiments of the line had not the latter absconded, upon a time, with his employer's funds and the former done something in the past which no man knows, though many have attempted to discover.

Nowadays, however, a new type of man has joined out with the "Lost Ones." They are men from varied walks in life who love France, true, but who love fighting, adventure, and liberty more. Ji Zannis hails from Constantinople and



SERGEANT BOULIGNY  
A Typical Legionary

was formerly an interpreter in an importing house in New York City; Barry is a rufous Irish type from Cork; Bur Bek-kar was a Bedouin of North Africa ere he was transformed into a Legion bugler, and two Danes there are, Hoffman and Sorensen by name, who come respectively from Copenhagen and St. Thomas.

#### *Many American Recruits*

And there are Americans, too; Americans galore. An odd, unparalleled democracy pervades *Les Etrangères*—between the men, between the officers and the privates. Perhaps that accounts for the fact that so many Americans are enlisted in the Legion.

Still another fact remains. Before the war, when the Foreign Legion was skirmishing on the fringe of things, the War Office used to run, in its list of nationalities numbered in the Legion, a standing note to the effect that in that corps there were to be found no Americans at all. Yet James Jury of San Francisco had put in seven years with the First Etranger around Sidi-bel-Abbes ere he was killed shortly after the arrival of his regiment in the Champagne country.

Now the War Office has changed, reversed itself, completely about-faced. France has come to realize her debt to America.

In the beginning of the war, when volunteers for the Foreign Legion were asked of the American contingent, some thirty Americans stepped forth. Among those Americans were Kenneth Weeks, who was a story writer and playwright until he signed on from New Bedford, Mass.; Paul Ayres Rockwell and his brother, the late Kiffin Rockwell, who formerly were newspaper men in Atlanta; Professor Ohlinger of Columbia; Paul Pavelka of Madison, Wis.; Lawrence Scanlon of Cedarhurst, L. I.; Bob Scanlon, the negro pugilist, and Lieutenant Charles W. Sweeny, the son of a Seattle magnate and a former West Pointer. Also, William Thaw of Pittsburgh and the late Victor Chapman, both of whom later won into the Flying Corps.

#### *Sergeant Bouligny's Experiences*

Still another American volunteer was

Edgar John Bouligny of New Orleans, who wears nowadays the single gold chevron of a Sergeant. Bouligny stands six feet tall. He has the true soldier face, the square jaw and the falcon eye. He is the sprig of one of the old Creole military families of Louisiana.

He went to France at the beginning of the war to offer his services to a country he had never seen but often had read and dreamed of. He has the reputation of being one of the first volunteers accepted. He enlisted Aug. 4, 1914. He has been thrice wounded. His first wound, a bullet in the leg, was received at Croanelle in November, 1914, after he had fetched back, under German infantry fire, one of his wounded comrades who had been caught on the enemy's barb wire and was too weak to move. In September of the following year, during the French offensive at the Ferme de Navarin in Champagne, three days before I myself was shot through the ankle, Bouligny was again wounded by a flying bit of shrapnel.

Bouligny has had one of the narrowest escapes from a horrible death that I know of. Here are the circumstances:

In was in the early hours of a Summer's morning near Rheims, when some German sappers blew up a mine under our trenches. Bouligny was asleep, in a canya, some fifteen meters further off. With the blowing up of the mine, the canya caved in and Bouligny was buried under it. For twenty hours thereafter the Germans kept up a bombardment so terrific no one possibly could live through it. Twenty-seven hours later, in rebuilding our trenches, we dug out Bouligny quite by accident. For over a day and a night he had been entombed alive!

He was the only one left living of his entire section. Those who had not been killed instantly by the explosion of the mine had been killed by the shells in that awful bombardment which had followed. After several days' rest Bouligny was himself again, nary a bit the worse for his premature burial. He's an old hand at rubbing cheek to jowl with death.

Sergeant John is about to take exami-

nations for the rank of Sous-Lieutenant. You know, he not only is a relation of General Beauregard, but he holds that old Southern warhorse as his ideal of a great soldier, and he hopes to keep up the reputation of the family. All we Americans in the Legion are hoping each day to hear that he has achieved a commission. He's a man that all his comrades and officers respect and like, a fine example of an American and a soldier. Light a candle for Bouligny!

#### *Men Who Can Die Gallantly*

The Foreign Legion of France has always and invariably given a good account of itself. In this war, to give a good account of one's self means to die willingly and to die in hordes for the sake of a gain of a mere hundred yards. The Légionnaires have died, high-handedly, in droves, with songs and sarcasms on their blood-flecked lips. The Legion has gained the yards.

Take an instance. Following the engagements around Neuville St. Vaast and La Pargete in May of last year, the First Etranger was retired to the rear to recuperate. Then it was found that, of the 4,000 men of the regiment who had gone into action, a bare 700 remained!

Up from the dépôt at Lyons came thereupon a wholly new battalion of Greek volunteers to help fill out the reduced ranks. A month later, in taking the first and second line trenches of the Germans to the left of the Cabaret Rouge, the regiment was once again blown to little bits. Man after man, company upon battalion went down under the mowing avalanche of gunfire. Russell Kelly of New York, Lawrence Scanlon, Kenneth Weeks the playwright, and John C. Smith of Los Angeles were reported captured by the Germans. Edwin Hall of Chicago was killed. Paul Pavelka of Madison, Wis., with one leg hideously gouged by a bayonet, dragged himself on hands and knees back to the first-aid ambulance. Broken and utterly disrupted, a mere handful of men, the First Regiment was retired to a camp in the south of France.

And then, forthwith, the Second Regiment began to be heard from. It was in the fighting between the Ferme de Navarin and Souain, which is known as the Champagne dash, and which occupied five horrible days of September, 1915. Here, in capturing the first and second line trenches of the Germans, "Shorty" Trinkard of New York and Fred Zinn of Battle Creek, Mich., were instantly killed by being shot through the chest; Dennis Doud, an American lawyer, had his arm almost severed from his shoulder; Lieutenant Charles Sweeny was shot through the lungs in two places, and Sergeant Bouligny received a piece of shrapnel in his stomach.

In this offensive a fellow-Legionary, Bob Soubiron, and myself were shot in the legs. I lost my kit, containing a number of sketches, on the battlefield of Champagne, and was reported missing and probably dead. Later I was located in Red Cross Hospital No. 68, at Grenoble.

Of the 8,000 men who had composed the Foreign Legion, there remained, after these three engagements, only enough to form three battalions. And there formerly had been, in La Légion, as many as ten battalions!

Some of the survivors were transferred to line regiments; for instance, Bob Scanlon, the negro pugilist, is now in the 171st Regiment of the Line. Others, like poor Kiffin Rockwell, won to the flying quadrille. Rockwell, by the bye, was decorated with the Military Cross and the Cross of War ere he met his death when a German machine brought him down. Still others were invalided to the States, among them Professor Ohlinger of Columbia, who is now back in New York. But most of the veterans remained with the Legion.

Now, in September, 1916, the reorganized and only remaining regiment of the Foreign Legion has been for two months on the Somme. It has been giving its usual good account of itself, the best work done this time, as every time! You do not know this; the censor is very sharp; but it was the Legion, La Légion Etrangère, who took Béloy en Sauterelle on the Somme!

# Reviving the Tradition of Marshal of France

[The subjoined historical review of the title of Marshal of France appeared as an editorial in The London Telegraph, Dec. 28, 1916]

**B**Y the decision of the French Government to confer the title of Marshal of France upon General Joffre an ancient and splendid tradition is revived after more than forty years of abeyance, and the honor that used to be the supreme ambition of every French soldier gains new glory. For, although the roll of the Marshals of France includes the names of nearly all her greatest soldiers, it is the unchallengeable distinction of Joffre that his personal decision and action changed the course of the greatest war in history, and saved Europe in saving his country. So, at least, it appears to his contemporaries; and we are fully persuaded that history will raise, rather than reduce, the importance given in our day to the battle of the Marne, and record it as one of the decisive combats which have directly influenced the fate of mankind.

Not since the Saracen host met Charles the Hammer at Tours has the indwelling spirit of European civilization been threatened as it was in those desperate days. None of us will forget while we live what feelings were ours when it was known that the French Government had abandoned the capital, and victory seemed within the grasp of the power which had trampled exultingly upon every moral restraint that distinguishes warfare from a mere riot of assassination, destruction, and plunder. And none of us will forget the hour, so soon after, when the news came that the peril had been averted, and that the invaders had been driven back from the Marne by a defending force far weaker in numbers, armament, and everything but valor and generalship.

The master-spirit of that memorable victory was Joffre, and all the world has since been at one with his countrymen in paying him the tribute of a gratitude that cannot be measured. He put upon the campaign in the west the stamp of German defeat, and the train of consequences set in motion by his hand more than two years ago is still going steadily

and inexorably on toward the one end. The intention to reward him with the supreme military honor was formed by the French Government soon after the victory of the Marne. A decree, which did not pass unnoticed in this country, was published on Sept. 21, 1914, dealing with the scale of officers' pay; and in it the remuneration of a Marshal of France was fixed at the mysteriously exact figure of 30,315f 79c per annum. As no officer had borne that designation since Canrobert died in 1895, the purpose of the regulation was clear, and was approved with the whole heart of the Republic.

The title, which has been handed down in almost unbroken succession for 700 years, is one of the oldest in French history. It was first bestowed by Philip Augustus upon Alberic Clement, one of those mediaeval soldiers who laid in that reign the foundations in Europe of French military prestige, and who numbered among their triumphs the breaking of our own Henry Plantagenet, the baffling of Coeur-de-Lion, and the ruin of John. For centuries the dignity was second only to that of the Constable in military eminence, and was a great office of State conferred upon a single trusted General. Under Francis I. the title began to be more freely awarded, and it was attached to most of the great names in the two periods of subsequent history in which the glory of the French arms was most brilliant. Louis XIV. created twenty Marshals, and Napoleon, in the ten years of his empire, created twenty-six.

The First Republic would naturally have none of a distinction so closely bound up with the system of the monarchy it had displaced. It was borne by none of the self-made leaders of men who freed French soil from the invader and carried the music of the "Marseillaise" across the Rhine and the Alps. But it was not forgotten by the greatest

of them, and when Napoleon established himself in autocratic power, many of them received Marshal's rank. The Marshals of the Empire formed an order ranking immediately after the imperial family and the six grand dignitaries of State. These Generals, "made out of mud," as their creator once remarked, held themselves to be the equal of any King or Emperor but their own, and did not conceal that opinion. Vandamme, taken a prisoner before the Czar Alexander, was abused by him as a brigand. "I may be that," replied the Marshal coolly, "but at least I never assassinated my father"—a home thrust which ended the interview.

Napoleon, who was persuaded that the creation of a nobility, to which any man might aspire, was necessary to the support of his throne, employed the Marshalate as a convenient cloak for designs hardly in keeping with the republican system upon which his régime was pro-

fessedly founded. He began by conferring duchies and principalities located outside French territory. All his Marshals, with only two exceptions, were created Duke or Prince of this or that place in Germany, Italy, or Austria. The practice of ennoblement so begun grew less and less restricted, and at the fall of the Empire the number of titles conferred by Napoleon was well over 2,000. It is not surprising, then, that the office of Marshal was regarded with strengthened suspicion by the succeeding generation of republicans, or that it was restored with promptitude under the Second Empire. But with the secure establishment of the Third Republic the force of these associations has passed away, and the revived Marshalate regains its old character as a purely military honor, the most distinguished in the history of arms. It has never been more worthily conferred than it is today upon the victor of the Marne.

[French Cartoon]

## Expulsion of Germans from Greece



—Forain in *Le Figaro*, Paris.

**GERMAN DIPLOMAT, LEAVING ATHENS:** "I appeal to all the neutrals."  
**ENTENTE SOLDIER:** "Do you wish the address of King Albert I.?"

# The Teutonic Attempt to Solve the Polish Question

THE tentative creation by the Central Empires of an autonomous State in the Polish districts "conquered by their armies," as announced in the proclamation issued in Warsaw and Lublin on Nov. 5, 1916, [see CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, December, 1916, pp. 470-472,] has been the subject of a lively discussion in Russia and the other allied countries. Since the Austro-German proclamation also stated that there is to be a Polish national army, the establishment of autonomy is regarded by the Allies simply as a trick to strengthen the fighting forces of the Central Empires. But the most interesting phase of the situation is the attitude, as far as it can be ascertained, of the Poles themselves. A group of leading Poles coming from all parts of Poland, including Galicia, Posen, and Silesia, and at the present time residing abroad, immediately issued a statement on their own behalf as well as in the name of their compatriots "who are unable to express freely their opinions." It reads:

The Polish Nation is indivisible. It aims at the creation of a Polish State from all the three parts of Poland, and its aim cannot be realized without the unification of these separated territories. From the present war, the watchword of which reads, "The freedom and independence of nations," Poland expects, first of all, reunion. The projected creation of a Polish kingdom exclusively from one territory, which forms but one part of Poland, not only fails to correspond with the aims of the Poles, but, on the other hand, emphasizes the division of their country. Preserving the division of the Polish national forces, Germany and Austria-Hungary condemn thereby the new kingdom to powerlessness and turn it into a tool for their politics. By refraining from rendering final decision as to the rights and prerogatives of the future kingdom, the Central Powers emphasize its dependence on them. At the same time they demand that the Poles create an army for them. This army, being an auxiliary of the German and Austrian armies, will serve to promote the aims of the Central Powers and to defend a cause foreign to Poland, though the Poles will be forced to fight for it. In spite of the appearance with

which the Central Powers are endeavoring to mask their measure, international law condemns it, and responsibility for it rests with the two powers only. We consider the military plans of Germany and Austria-Hungary a burdensome misfortune for Poland, and their political act a new confirmation of its division.

In Poland itself the expression of opinion is obviously subject to the influence, direct or indirect, of the Teutonic forces occupying the country. This fact should be borne in mind in reading the following statement issued by the recently formed club, or federation, of national parties in the Kingdom of Poland:

1. In the proclamation of Nov. 5, announcing the reconstruction of an autonomous Polish State, the Club of the Parties sees a political act evidencing the international necessity of solving the Polish question. In consequence, the Club of the Parties declares that the attitude adopted by Russia and her Allies, in reply to the proclamation of Nov. 5, does not respond to the infrangible and general aspirations of the Polish Nation toward the restoration of an independent Polish State.

2. Appreciating exactly the importance of this act, as well as the bearing of efforts with a view to a complete restoration of the Polish State, the Club of the Parties is ready to take an active part in the work which has for its aim the solution of the problems raised by the creation of a State, a work which can be organized apart from military considerations and aims while guaranteeing complete liberty to the decisions of the nation. The Club of the Parties expresses at the same time the conviction that it is an important condition for the accomplishment of the great work of State in question to permit henceforth the free expression of opinion with guarantees for the freedom of the press and freedom of meeting, as well as personal inviolability.

3. So as to determine the proper sphere of the aforesaid activity and assure it authority and respect with the public, it is necessary to the progressive construction of the Polish State that it rest on a basis of fundamental laws, the framing of which can only be intrusted to a Legislative Assembly elected according to democratic principles. Such a Legislative Assembly can alone call into existence a National Government to organize the life of the State in its entirety.

4. The Club of the Parties is profoundly

convinced that in its views and aspirations it has the support of the immense majority of the Polish Nation, animated by the ardent desire of liberating its Fatherland, but knowing how to apply criticism and caution in the means employed to settle, apparently, the future of the nation, and with the understanding that not a drop of Polish blood can be shed but by the considered and conscious will of the nation.

The signatories to this document are the Realist Political Party, the National Democracy, the Polish Progressive Party, the National Union, the Union of Economic Independence, and the Christian Democratic Party.

A. P. Lednitzky, President of the Moscow Polish Committee, who is regarded by his fellow-countrymen as the legitimate spokesman of the Russian Poles, both abroad and in this country, writing in the *Russkia Vedomosti*, Moscow, declares:

Germany has not solved the Polish problem. She has only put it forth in its full stature. She has unquestionably made it an international affair, and only an international institution will have the right to solve it finally. Germany has not won over to her side the Polish people, for whom there can be no Poland without Cracow, without Galicia and Silesia, without the cradle of Polish civilization—the Grand Duchy of Posen. Neither Polish political thought nor the Polish national conscience will acquiesce in the creation of a Poland which is to exist under the domination of German influence, German interests, and German power. The Polish people need real independence, and not an imitation of it. We are not afraid of the danger of a newly organized army in Poland coming to fight with the Teutons against Russia. It will not be so easy to efface the experiences of yesterday. \* \* \* It is necessary that all the allied nations solemnly declare that one of the war's aims is the complete restoration of a Poland consisting of all the Polish territories. \* \* \* In this supreme hour of history we turn to Russia and her national conscience, expecting the word that was the dream of our fathers and grandfathers.

Another Polish opinion worth noting is that of M. Harusewicz, the leader of the Polish Party in the Russian Duma. At the session of the Duma on Nov. 15, 1916, he made an important speech, in the course of which he said:

We protest decisively against this German act which endeavors to check the historical necessity of the unification of Poland, which cannot be thought of without Cracow, Posnania, Silesia, and the Polish Sea. The fund-

amental idea that the Polish cause cannot be solved by Germany remains unshaken. The real aim of the German act, the point of which is directed equally against Russia and her allies, as against the coming united Poland, without the slightest doubt, is based on the endeavor to create irreparable strife between Poland and Russia with her allies, and, above all, to blind the eyes of the Polish Nation and the eyes of the whole civilized world to the unlawfulness of forcible enlistment in their armies through a pretended restitution of the natural rights of the Polish Nation to become an independent State.

The attitude of the Russian Government was expressed in an official communiqué, which declared:

The intentions of Russia allow for the creation of an entire Poland, uniting all the Polish territories, which will enjoy, when the war is ended, the right of freely determining its own national, intellectual, and economic life on a basis of autonomy under the sceptre of the Russian sovereigns while preserving the principle of the unity of the State.

At the other extreme of Russian opinion we have the following comments by Vladimir Burtzeff, the well-known revolutionary leader and historian, who is now in Petrograd writing for the Retch:

In Germany they now talk of Poland and her independence because they think only of Germany and her safety. Even now the Germans do not think of Poland's free existence in the future, but of making use of it in the face of the oncoming chariot of history so as to alleviate the difficult position of Germany with the blood of a nation alien to her. To assure their own safety they calmly assume the rôle of an executioner of an entire nation. The Poles must not be deceived. They must understand the aims of their present saviors. Neither does Germany wish to part with Posen, nor Austria with Galicia. They grant independence only to that part of Poland which they cannot hope to retain. They want to throw at Russia hundreds of thousands of Polish soldiers, creating at the same time a gulf between the Poles and Russians, planting a deep-seated hatred between them. That is the hidden meaning of the Polish independence granted from Berlin and Vienna. From the beginning of the war, to our shame and sorrow it must be recognized, there have been certain persons, tendencies, and parties among the Poles who were prompted by their conscience to fight for German victory and the defeat of the Allies. But should such an error now be committed by the entire nation, and should its leaders be carried away by the German promises and become tools in German hands against the Allies, those who loved Poland heretofore would poignantly exclaim: *Finis Poloniae!*

Professor P. Migulin, writing in the

New Economist, (Novy Ekonomist,) deals with the Polish question from another Russian standpoint:

There can be no doubt whatever that a certain portion of the Polish public before the war gravitated, and even now gravitates, toward Austria, (in no case toward Germany.) Many Galician Poles at the beginning of the war undoubtedly dreamed about the annexation of Russian Poland to Austria as a certain ideal; even now several dream about the same thing. There were, and are, also Russian Poles (can this be seriously denied?) who hate Russia and thirst even for annexation to Austria, if it is impossible to win an independent existence. But what of this? What relation has this to the problem of a Great Poland, which has been propounded in all its magnitude?

Germany and Austria can promise the Poles everything you please—the broadest autonomy, complete independence with a separate dynasty in union, and even without union, with the Central Empires; annexation to Poland of the Lithuanian and Russian Governments; egress to the Black and Baltic Seas, ("Poland from sea to sea,") &c. But they cannot promise one thing—annexation to Poland, in any form, of Posen with Dantsio and Silesia. And without Posen there is no amalgamation of Poland; there is no "Polish Kingdom," there is no "Polish Commonwealth"! And only a Russian victory can restore Poland in her ancient boundaries and unite Poland. The Grand Duke's proclamation promised, not an independent Poland, but only a Poland under the sceptre of the Russian Czar; it promised only self-administration, (*samoupravlenie*) (even the word "autonomy" was not mentioned.) This is so.

But is, then, independence, a self-supporting dynasty, &c., the main thing for Poland? The main thing is union of the dismembered parts of a living, cultured body and at one time great State.

In our opinion Russia cannot promise Polish independence. But autonomy? This is a question on an entirely different plane. Once Russia has promised the reunion of the dismembered portions of the former Polish Kingdom into a single whole, the autonomy of Poland is guaranteed irrespective of the sentiments of Russian governing spheres.

The British Foreign Office has made public an official communiqué, which was issued simultaneously in London, Paris, and Rome, and the substance of which is as follows:

It is an established principle of modern international law that military occupation resulting from operations of war cannot, in view of its precarious and *de facto* character, imply a transfer of sovereignty over the territory so occupied, and cannot therefore carry with it any right whatsoever to dis-

pose of this territory to the advantage of any other power whatsoever.

In giving a "*de jure*" application to their occupation of these territories the German Emperor and the Emperor of Austria have not only committed an illegal act, but have also disregarded one of the fundamental principles on which the constitution and existence of the society of civilized nations are based.

Moreover, in proposing to organize, train, and dispose of an army levied in those "Polish districts" occupied by their troops, the German Emperor and the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary, have once more violated the engagements which they have undertaken to observe, and by which, in accordance with the most elementary principles of justice and morality, "a belligerent is forbidden to force the subjects of its opponents to take part in operations of war directed against their own country." (Article 23 of the Provisions annexed to the Fourth Hague Convention of 1907, as ratified by the German Emperor and the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary, Nov. 29, 1909.) \* \* \*

The Allies' attitude is supported by leading American authorities, such as Sterling E. Edmunds, lecturer on International Law, St. Louis University Law School, who says:

It will not do to say that Russia has formally promised autonomy to her Polish provinces, and that, therefore, Austria and Germany are but carrying out the Russian will. That has no more validity than the confiscation by Napoleon of American vessels, which violated the American embargo, upon the plea that he was aiding in the execution of the laws of the United States.

It is certain that no State not a partisan of the Central Allies can recognize the existence of the new kingdom, however deep may be the desire to see the nation given new birth. The Austro-German action is not only illegal, but is palpably lacking in good faith; wherefore, for a neutral State to enter into official relations with it would constitute, at the very least, an unfriendly act toward Russia, besides involving the recognizing State in the guilt of condoning and sustaining the plain violation of law.

#### *Further Teutonic Move*

On Dec. 8, 1916, the publication was announced of a joint decree by the German and Austrian Governors General at Warsaw and Lublin regarding the organization of a provisional National Council of twenty-five members. The council, which is to sit at Warsaw, is to elect one of its members as Crown Marshal and President of the Council. Business is to be transacted in the Polish language. Among the Council's functions

are to be the development of a system of Government, domestic legislation, industrial and financial reorganization, and co-operation in the creation of a Polish army.

How the invaders are really treating the inhabitants of Russian Poland has recently been described in the German Reichstag itself by the Polish Deputy, Tronpczynski, in a speech which was suppressed by the German censorship, but published in a Polish newspaper. The Polish Deputy's allegation was that Russian Poles have been subjected to a policy of forced labor and deportation similar to that in Belgium, and that the hardships and cruelties inflicted upon them were of the most heartless description. Tronpczynski said that the number of men affected was 300,000. He concluded his speech with the following statement:

Numbers of workmen perish under the bullets of frontier sentries in trying to escape or in attempting secretly to cross the frontier by swimming. Generally the fugitives are retaken and thrown into prison. In peace times thousands of Polish workmen went to Germany in spite of the fact that they could more easily have found work in the Kingdom of Poland than now. If now they are unwilling to emigrate, it is because they do not wish to submit to modern slavery.

The German reply to all criticism resolves itself into the declaration that Poland is being freed from Russian despotism; that volunteers "who are now rushing to the colors" are doing so "to defend their national freedom," and that the work of organizing the new autonomous State is going on. The fate of Poland, however, is still in doubt, and can be settled only when all matters in dispute between the belligerents are finally disposed of in the terms of peace.

## Emperor Charles with His Soldiers

By Karl F. Nowak

[This sketch of the young Austrian Emperor decorating his soldiers was written for the German press shortly after the death of his uncle, Francis Joseph, on Nov. 21, 1916.]

IT is a sunny morning at Horozanka. It is August. Here is a broad meadow. Close to the edge of a long strip of forest infantry and cavalry are in readiness. The day before yesterday, yesterday, and last night they hurled back the Russians from before their fortifications. Besides, they are the same soldiers who a week before so thoroughly smashed a charging Russian brigade composed of freshly arrived and unweakened Finnish regiments that it disappeared from the scene of battle immediately after this first clash. Only after several weeks were the Finns seen again, when they bobbed up some place before the Transylvanian passes to relieve the Rumanians. That's how long it took them to recuperate.

But the men who defeated them are to be rewarded today. They don't know why they have been marched up here on the meadow, directly from the trenches,

many of them with the earth and clay still on their clothing and shoes, upon which the war has left but little of their original colors. Automobiles go rushing along the road. Back of the woods, not too far distant, the guns are roaring. Aviators are seen in the clouds. They always make the same circle, flying a little way toward the east, then returning and starting again on their rounds. They are on patrol. A couple of officers step out from the side of the road. Signals are blown by the trumpeters and the bands play. The troops on foot and the troops on horseback form a single wall. The bands play the national hymn. Archduke Charles is there—this time in the place of the Emperor. Everybody looks closely and thinks, "What is the future Emperor to be like?"

Archduke Charles is there to decorate the troops. He wastes no time on introductory speeches, but at once begins the work. There against the forest stand ten companies; next to them are drawn up three squadrons of gray horsemen.

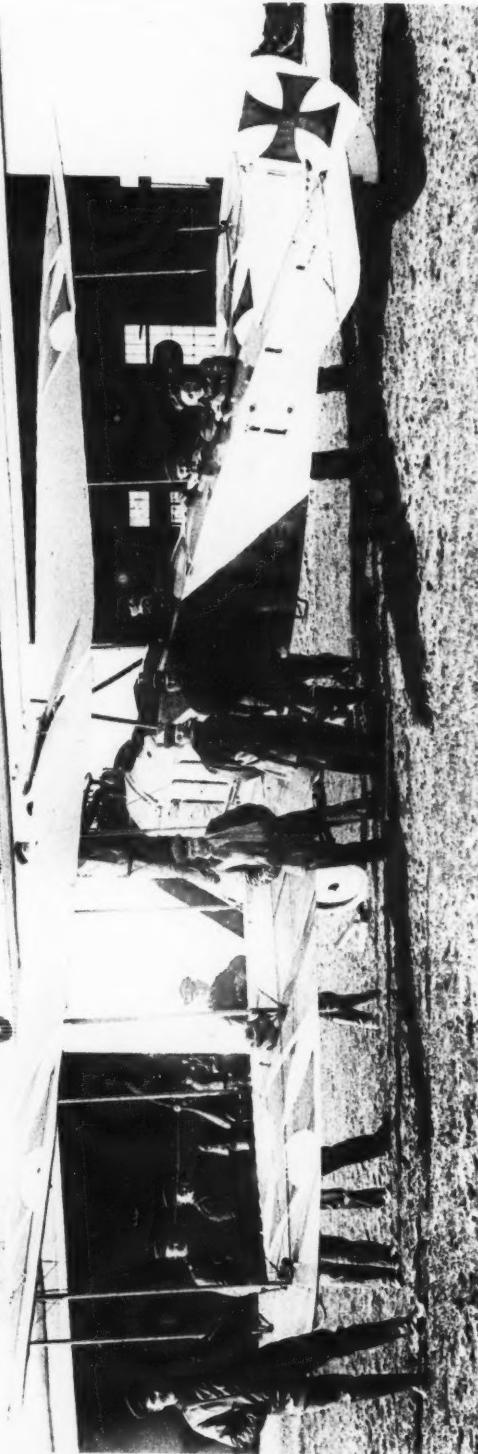
AN IDYLLIC SCENE ON THE SOMME FRONT IN SUMMER



This Photograph, Which Has the Quality of a French Painting, Shows French Troops Resting in  
the Grounds of a Picardy Chateau  
*(Central News Photo Service.)*

GLIMPSE OF A TYPICAL GERMAN AVIATION SCHOOL

Lübeck  
Flugzeugwaffent



A Group of Pupils of the Imperial German Flying Corps, with a Military Aeroplane, in the Aviation School at Lübeck

(Photo © Brown & Dawson.)

The commander of the first company reports; already the first man to get the medal is pointed out.

"Where didst thou distinguish thyself?"

"At Horozanka, Imperial Highness."

"And what didst thou do there?"

"I most respectfully report that I captured a machine gun, Imperial Highness."

The Archduke takes the medal from the tray that is carried along back of him, begins to adjust the strings, and fastens it upon the infantryman. "Thou hast done well, my dear boy." He slaps him a couple of times on the shoulder in a friendly way, and now he is already by the next one.

This next one is a Pole. The Archduke lets his hand rest on the soldier's shoulder, smiles at him affably, and talks with him in Polish. The third man is a Hungarian. Now the dialogue is in Hungarian, then it turns to Polish again. To be sure, there are "intermezzi" in fluent Czech, and two minutes later in fluent Italian. "In this camp Austria is personified," my companion remarks.

Now curious sounds are heard from the third file of the company. Are they Ruthenian, Rumanian, or Croatian? In any case, the Archduke talks fluently. The conversations gradually become intermingled. It seems to be always the same, but still it is always something different. The Archduke looks the men squarely in the eyes. Naturally, he wishes the men to remember his glance.

Now he is talking to a Lieutenant. The latter has the small silver, the large silver, and the gold medals for bravery. He has been everywhere already. Heavens, the war is long! Now he also gets the service cross. "I am very glad to be able to give you this decoration. You have done very well. And you will continue to be just as good, isn't it so, Mr. Lieutenant?" He gives the young officer a more than hearty handshake. The Lieutenant's face is wreathed in smiles.

From the first file of the second company we hear these words: "But that was certainly well done. Thou art a fine soldier. Let's hope that thou remainest so!" I have this translated for me, for

the language used was again some kind of Slavic.

The Archduke's German is also quite remarkable. It is far removed from North German. The Saxon peculiarities which have been attributed to him because he might have got them from his mother are also not to be found. The old Emperor spoke a fine, smooth, modified Vienna German. The Archduke also likes to drop a couple of vowels occasionally, and he likes to contract the consonants in the Vienna style. But it is not the Viennese as spoken in Vienna. Many of the officers of the Imperial and Royal Army speak this kind of German. The Croatian speaks this way, and so do the Pole and the Hungarian. The language is common; like the army, it is the binding element. The Archduke's speech also has something of the intonation of this element. He was in the army in his early years, now he is with the army, and he is to be its Supreme War Lord.

He halts before the fourth company. He began at 8:30 o'clock, now it is 10 o'clock. There is no visible end to the line before us. The Archduke turns sharply on his heel. "Why, then, do the men remain at attention? Battalion commander! Please, at rest! And let those with whom we have finished sit down!" Now he is talking Hungarian again, for he is occupied with a sub-Lieutenant from Debreczin. Talking with the next man he is at a loss for a word. He is provoked. To the Adjutant: "What is the Hungarian for candidate for a cadetship? Candidate for a cadetship, quick, please!" The aspirant for the cadetship is very proud of such attention. The Archduke passes on.

At 12 o'clock he is with the cavalrymen. Thus far he has spoken in all kinds of languages with some 300 men. He is particularly interested by a solid, gigantic master of the guard who sits his horse as if graven in stone and whose breast is covered with decorations. A trooper from the days of Wallenstein. He must relate every detail. He is a Hungarian. He speaks shortly and sharply, with his eyes trained directly to the front and neither himself nor his horse making the slightest move. The

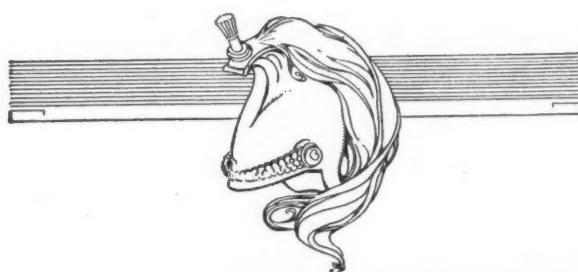
eyes of the heir to the throne sparkle. He gives the horse a slap and reaches up and grips the hand of the master of the guard long and heartily. "Just write home how glad I was to see thee! Hast thou understood me?" The soldier never moves. But from his lips comes a trumpet-like shout of "Igen!" My Hungarian colleague is deeply touched. "Just look, for four weeks he was back of the Russian front. And did you hear how he shouted the 'Igen'?" The Hungarian master of the guard is from Alsöld; from the most genuine Hungarian, the best Magyar soil. The Hungarian newspaper man has tears in his eyes. And so has the master of the guard from Alsöld.

And so it goes until 2 o'clock. And nobody is forgotten. Such a carrying out of the task delegated to him is really a terribly hard piece of work. It means talking to several hundred men, to each one differently, and to each one in the manner calculated to impress him. And every one of them is to be able some time to tell the children at home and the people of the village: "The young Emperor pinned this on me himself. That time at Horozanka, you know. And I had to tell him the whole story about the machine gun! Once! Twice! Thrice! He never seemed to be able to hear enough about it." Then the soldier will begin to indulge a little in reveries. He will show ten times over how and with what degree of warmth the amiable young Archduke shook his hand. But every one of the men he has slapped on

the shoulder will go through fire for the Archduke, for the young Emperor.

The psychological display lasted for hours. Only after he was quite sure that he had not overlooked anybody, not even the two men in civilian clothing, whom, as newspaper men, he had presented to him and with whom he had chatted about experiences at the front in Tyrol, did the Archduke leave, satisfied, fresh and pleased. On the way it was learned that his cook wagon had been damaged and had been left behind. So on they went without breakfast, to a second division in an entirely different region, some seventy kilometers to the north. There some reservists were waiting in a meadow. They were about to be rewarded. There was talk in German, Hungarian, and Slavic. One thing is certain: The Archduke already was aware of the value of the popular psychology, and he did not spare himself in cultivating it.

At that time, now here, now there, he decorated thousands and tens of thousands of soldiers. Now Archduke Charles has become the young Emperor, the supreme war lord of hundreds of thousands and millions of soldiers. And already, on the first day of his ascension to the throne, he aspires to be something still greater and higher. In his manifesto he declares to the tens of millions of his peoples in all lands "I shall do everything to banish the horrors and sacrifices of war in the shortest time and to win back for my peoples the sorely missed blessings of peace."



# Germany's Effort to Avert the War

## First Full and Accurate Text of von Bethmann Hollweg's Reply to Viscount Grey

**C**HANCELLOR von Bethmann Hollweg's reply to Viscount Grey, delivered before the Chief Committee of the Reichstag on Nov. 9, 1916, was summarized in the December issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, but the reports then obtainable were meagre. The version here presented—the only full and authentic translation that has thus far appeared in the United States—shows it to have been one of the most important German utterances of the war. Among other things it contains the assertion that Russia and Austria-Hungary had reached an agreement which would have averted the war, and that this agreement had been brought about through the earnest solicitation of Germany at Vienna. The full text follows:

The exhaustive debates which have taken place in the Chief Committee during the course of the last few weeks have in the end always turned on questions regarding the prosecution and the termination of the war. On the enemy's side they usually speak about the prosecution of the war. Lord Grey also spoke of it in his speech at the banquet to the Foreign Press Association. The British Minister then said that there was one thing which deserved to be kept in mind, namely, that one could not revert too often to the consideration of the origin of the war, because that origin would have its influence on the conditions of peace.

In view of the fundamental importance which Lord Grey has again recently attached to this question of peace conditions, and which we, too, have attached to it, I am obliged to state the facts in order to disperse the clouds with which our enemies endeavor to disguise the real situation.

In reply, I can only repeat what is known. The act which made war inevitable was the Russian general mobilization, which was ordered on the night of July 30-31, 1914. Russia, England, France, and the entire world knew that this step must make further waiting impossible for us. Even in England people are beginning to understand the fateful significance of the Russian mobilization. The truth is coming to light. An English professor of world fame wrote some time ago that many people would think differently about the end of the war if they were better

informed about its beginning, especially about the fact of the Russian mobilization.

No wonder, then, that Lord Grey, in his recent speech, could not pass the Russian mobilization unnoticed, but felt himself obliged to speak of it. He could no longer deny that the Russian mobilization preceded the German and the Austrian mobilization, but as he desires to remove all blame for the war from the Entente, he makes a daring endeavor, by means of quite a new version of the case, to represent the Russian mobilization as Germany's work.

Lord Grey's explanation is that Russia ordered her first mobilization only after a report had appeared in Germany that Germany had ordered a mobilization, and after this report had been telegraphed to Petrograd.

### *A Belated Interpretation*

It took about two and a quarter years for Lord Grey to discover this interpretation, which is as new as it is objectively false, of the cause of the war. The occurrence to which he alluded is well known. The document which forms the basis of his proof is an extra edition of the Berlin *Lokal-Anzeiger*. You will remember, gentlemen, perhaps, that on Thursday, July 30, 1914, in the early afternoon, the *Lokal-Anzeiger* issued a false report in an extra edition that the Emperor had ordered a mobilization. You also know that the sale of this extra edition was at once stopped by the police, and the available copies were seized. I can also declare that the Foreign Secretary immediately informed the Russian Ambassador, and simultaneously all other Ambassadors, by telephone, that the news issued by the *Lokal-Anzeiger* was false. The Russian Embassy was also informed as soon as possible from the *Lokal-Anzeiger's* office that there had been a mistake.

I can further confirm that the Russian Ambassador, immediately after the issue of the extra edition, telegraphed a cipher message to Petrograd, which, according to the Russian Orange Book, reads as follows:

"I learn that an order for the mobilization of the German Army and fleet has just been published."

But this telegram, after Herr von Jagow's telephonic explanation, was followed by a second telegram "en clair," which read as follows:

"Please consider my last telegram canceled, (nichtig.) Explanation follows."

A few minutes later the Russian Ambassador sent a third cipher telegram, which ac-

cording to the Russian Orange Book, said that the German Foreign Minister had just telephoned to him that the news of the mobilization of the army and fleet was false, and that the extra edition in question had been seized. The immediate intervention of Herr von Jagow, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in order to rectify the false news—an intervention which in the official Russian Orange Book is confirmed by the telegram of M. Sverbejoff, the Russian Ambassador—of itself contradicts the assertion of Lord Grey that we intentionally desired to deceive Russia for the purpose of bringing about a mobilization. I can, however, also confirm, according to investigations of the Imperial Postal Administration concerning the periods of the sending of the Russian Ambassador's three telegrams, that these must have arrived in Petrograd almost simultaneously.

#### Cites Czar's Message as Proof

The Russian Government itself, which, after all, must be best acquainted with the reasons for its mobilization, never had an idea of explaining its fateful step by appealing to the *Lokal-Anzeiger's* extra edition. Lord Grey, I assume, will not desire to reject the Czar as a witness. On Friday, July 31, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, when the mobilization order had already been issued to all the Russian forces, the Czar telegraphed in reply to the Kaiser's last appeal for peace:

"It is technically impossible to discontinue our military preparations, which have become necessary owing to Austria-Hungary's mobilization."

No mention of the *Lokal-Anzeiger*. No mention of the German mobilization.

As early as July 29 Russia had already answered this measure with the mobilization of thirteen army corps. After July 29, Austria-Hungary had taken no further military measures which could have furnished Russia with any grounds for a general mobilization, which was equivalent to a declaration of war. Only after the general mobilization had taken place in Russia did Austria-Hungary, on the morning of July 31, also proceed to a general mobilization. We ourselves even then exercised forbearance and patience to the utmost limits of consideration for our own existence and our duty toward our allies. As far back as July 29, when Russia mobilized against Austria-Hungary, we ourselves could have mobilized. The text of our Treaty of Alliance with Austria-Hungary was known, and nobody could have considered our mobilization aggressive. We did not do it.

But to the news of the Russian general mobilization we at first replied only with the announcement of a state of affairs threatening danger of war which did not yet signify mobilization. We informed the Russian Government, and added that mobilization must follow if Russia did not cease every war measure against us and Austria-Hungary within twelve hours, and give us a definite declaration in regard to this. We gave Rus-

sia thereby, even when war seemed already inevitable owing to her fault, another opportunity to come to her senses, and even at the last moment to save the peace. By this delay we also gave Russia's allied friends the world-historical opportunity to influence Russia in favor of peace.

It was in vain. Russia left us without a reply, and England persisted in silence toward Russia. France, through the mouth of her Premier, in the evening of July 31, simply denied to our Ambassador the fact of the Russian mobilization, and ordered her own mobilization some hours earlier than when we ourselves had proceeded to mobilize. Moreover, as regards the alleged defensive character of the Russian complete mobilization, I will here emphatically declare that on the outbreak of war in 1914 a general instruction of the Russian Government issued in 1912 for the contingency of mobilization was in force, which, word for word, contains the following passage by the All-Highest:

"It is ordered that the announcement of mobilization is at the same time an announcement of war against Germany." Against Germany! In 1912, against Germany!

It is incomprehensible how, in view of these documentary facts, Lord Grey can come before the world and his own country with the story of a manoeuvre by which we enticed the pacific Russian into mobilization against his own will by grossly deluding him about our own measures. No! The truth is, Russia would never have decided on the fateful step if she had not been encouraged to it from the Thames by acts of commission and omission.

I recall the actual situation at the time when Russia issued the order for a general mobilization. The instructions which I gave our Ambassador in Vienna on July 30 are known. Lord Grey also well knows that I retransmitted to Vienna with the most peremptory recommendation the mediation proposal which he made to our Ambassador on July 29, and which appeared to me a suitable basis for the maintenance of peace. At that time I telegraphed to Vienna:

#### German Efforts in Vain

"Should the Austro-Hungarian Government refuse all mediation we are confronted with a conflagration in which England would go against us, and Italy and Rumania, according to all indications, would not be with us; so that with Austria-Hungary we should confront three great powers. Germany, as the result of England's hostility, would have to bear the chief brunt of the fight. The political prestige of Austria-Hungary, the honor of her arms, and her justified claims against Serbia can be sufficiently safeguarded by the occupation of Belgrade or other places. We therefore urgently and emphatically ask the Vienna Cabinet to consider the acceptance of mediation on the proposed conditions. Responsibility for the consequences which may

otherwise arise must be extraordinarily severe for Austria-Hungary and ourselves."

The Austro-Hungarian Government acceded to our urgent representations by giving its Ambassador in Berlin the following instruction:

"I ask your Excellency most sincerely to thank Herr von Jagow, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, for the information given through Herr von Tschirschki, and to declare to him that despite the change in the situation which has since arisen through the Russian mobilization we are quite ready to consider the proposals of Sir Edward Grey for a settlement between us and Serbia. A condition of our acceptance is, of course, that our military action against Serbia should meanwhile proceed, and that the English Cabinet should induce the Russian Government to bring to a standstill the Russian mobilization directed against us, in which case also we, as a matter of course, will at once cancel our defensive countermeasures forced upon us in Galicia."

Against this I place the following steps of Lord Grey. On July 27, 1914, in reply to a remark of the Russian Ambassador at London that the impression in German and Austro-Hungarian circles was that England would remain quiet, he (Viscount Grey) said that that impression had been removed by the orders which "we gave to the first fleet." On July 29 Lord Grey immediately acquainted the French Ambassador with his confidential warning to our Ambassador at London, that Germany must be prepared for speedy decisions, that is, for her (England's) participation in the war against us.

Could Lord Grey suppose that such a disclosure would serve peace? Must not France thereby have been encouraged to give Russia a promise of unconditional war support, which Russia had for days urgently demanded? Must not Russia have been strengthened to the utmost in her bellicose intention by the certainty of a Franco-British alliance? The Russian reply to Lord Grey's morning conversation was, in fact, not long in coming. On the evening of the same day, July 29, M. Sazonoff instructed the Russian Ambassador in Paris to express his sincere thanks for the declaration made to him by the French Ambassador that Russia could rely fully upon the support of her ally, France.

#### *Puts the Blame on Russia*

Russia, therefore, during the night of July 30, was given the fact of Austro-Hungarian compliance, due to our influence, which gave an open road to the maintenance of peace. She was simultaneously faced with the certitude of Anglo-French support, disclosed by Lord Grey to M. Paul Cambon, which alone gave her the possibility of war.

She chose mobilization, and with it war. Who now is to blame for this fateful decision? We, who recommended with the greatest emphasis to the Vienna Cabinet utter complaisance and the acceptance of the English pro-

posal for mediation, or the British Cabinet, which, in a critical hour, held out to France and Russia a prospect of its support? Lord Grey did not speak of these decisive things, but, on the other hand, he turned the attention of his audience to minor things.

The resort of The Hague Tribunal which the Czar proposed sounds on first sight very important, but it was proposed after the Russian troops had already been put in motion against us. His own conference proposal (I have repeatedly pointed out this in the Reichstag) Lord Grey set aside in favor of our mediation.

And Belgium! Before a single German soldier had set foot on Belgian territory Lord Grey explained to the French Ambassador, after the latter's report to his Government, that in case the German fleet should enter the Channel or pass from the North Sea with the intention of attacking the French coast, or the French fleet, or disturb (Beunruhigen) the mercantile fleet (I repeat the word "disturb," gentlemen,) the British fleet would interfere, and give its protection in such a manner that from this moment England and Germany would be in a state of war.

Can he who declared that our fleet's putting to sea would be a *casus belli* still seriously maintain that the violation of Belgian neutrality was the sole cause of England's entering the war against her will? And finally, with regard to the statement that, in order to keep England out of the war, we made a discreditable proposal to the British Government to shut its eyes to the violation of Belgian neutrality and allow us a free hand to take the French colonies, I challenge Lord Grey to investigate the real facts in his Blue Book and in his documents.

In an earnest endeavor to localize the war, I assured the British Ambassador in Berlin on July 29 that, on the condition of England's neutrality, we would guarantee the integrity of France. On Aug. 1 Prince Lichnowsky asked Lord Grey whether, in the event of Germany's undertaking to respect the neutrality of Belgium, England would also undertake to observe neutrality. He further held out the prospect that, in the event of English neutrality, the integrity not only of France, but also of the French colonies might be guaranteed. On my instructions he gave an assurance that we were ready to give up the idea of an attack against France if England would guarantee the neutrality of France.

At the last moment I promised further that so long as England remained neutral our fleet would not attack the French northern coast, and on the condition of reciprocity would undertake no hostile operations against French merchant ships. Lord Grey's sole reply to this was that he must finally decline all promise of neutrality. He could only say that England wished to keep her hands untied. If England had given this declaration of neutrality she would not have

been exposed to the contempt of the whole world, but would have gained the credit of having prevented the war, (das Verdienst den Ausbruch des Krieges zu verhindern.)

I ask here, too, who willed the war? We who were prepared to give England every imaginable security for France and Belgium, or England, which declined all our proposals and refused even to indicate the way for the preservation of peace between our two nations, (zwischen unsren beiden Ländern.)

#### *Concerning a Peace League*

Lord Grey finally dealt exhaustively with the period after peace and with the establishment of an international union to preserve peace. On that subject, too, I will say a few words. We have never concealed our doubts whether peace could be lastingly insured by international organizations such as arbitration courts. I will not discuss here the theoretical part of the problem, but in practice now and in peace we shall have to define our attitude toward the question.

When, after the termination of the war, the world shall fully recognize its horrible devastation of blood and treasure, then through all mankind will go the cry for peaceful agreements and understandings which will prevent, so far as is humanly possible, the return of such an immense catastrophe. This cry will be so strong and so justified that it must lead to a result. Germany will honorably co-operate in investigating every attempt to find a practical solution, and collaborate toward its possible realization, and that all the more if the war, as we confidently expect, produces political conditions which will do justice to the free development of all nations, small as well as great. In that case the principle of right and free development must be made to prevail, not only on the Continent, but also at sea.

Of that Lord Grey, of course, did not speak. The guaranteee of peace which he has in mind appears to me to possess a peculiar character, devised especially for British wishes. During the war the neutrals, according to his desire, will have to remain silent and patiently endure every compulsion of British domination on the seas. After the war, when England, as she thinks, will have beaten us, when she will have made a new arrangement of the world, then neutrals are to combine as guarantors of the new English arrangement of the world. To this arrangement of the world will also belong the following:

From a trustworthy source we know that England and France already, in 1915, guaranteed to Russia territorial rule over Constantinople, the Bosphorus, and the western shore of the Dardanelles, with its hinterland, while Asia Minor was to be divided among the Entente Powers. The English Government avoided replying to the questions which were asked in Parliament on this subject, but certainly these plans of the Entente are also of interest for the International Peace Union which later is to guarantee them. These are

the annexation intentions of our enemies, to which also must be added Alsace-Lorraine, while I, in the discussion of our war aims, have never indicated the annexation of Belgium as our intention.

Such a policy of force (Gewaltpolitik) cannot, of course, form the basis for an effective international peace union, and it is in the strongest contrast to Lord Grey's and Mr. Asquith's ideal state of things, where right governs might and all States form a family of civilized mankind, and can freely develop themselves, whether big or small, under the same conditions and in accordance with their natural capabilities. If the Entente wishes seriously to take up this position, then it should also act consistently upon it; otherwise the most exalted words about peace union and harmonious living together in an international family are mere words, (Schall und Rauch.)

#### *Opposes Aggressive Coalitions*

The first condition for the development of international relations by means of an arbitration court and the peaceful liquidation of conflicting antagonisms would be that henceforth no aggressive coalitions should be formed. Germany is ready at all times to join the union of peoples, and even to place herself at the head of such a union, which will restrain the disturber of peace. The history of international relations before the war lies clearly before the eyes of the entire world.

What brought France to Russia's side? Alsace-Lorraine. Why did Russia desire Constantinople? Why did England join them?

Because Germany, in peaceful work, had become too great for her. What did we desire? Lord Grey says that Germany, with her first proposal concerning the integrity of France and Belgium, desired to purchase England's permission to take what she wanted of the French colonies. Even the most hare-brained German did not entertain the idea of attacking France for the purpose of seizing her colonies.

It was not this which was fateful to Europe, but that the English Government favored French and Russian predatory aims which were unattainable without a European war. As against this aggressive character of the Entente, the Triple Alliance had always found itself in a defensive position. No honorable critic can deny that. Not in the shadow of Prussian militarism did the world live before the war, but in the shadow of the policy of isolation which was to keep Germany down.

Against this policy, whether it appears diplomatically as encirclement, militarily as a war of destruction, economically as a world-boycott, we from the beginning have been on the defensive. The German people wages this war as a defensive war for the safety of its national existence and for its free development.

We have never pretended anything else; we have never intended anything different. How otherwise could this display of gigantic forces, this inexhaustible heroism, determined to fight to the last, be explained? There is no precedent for it in all human history. At the obstinacy of the enemy's will to war, at the calling up of military material and auxiliary forces from all parts of

the world, our resistance hardened to still greater determination. However England may still supplement her strength—and there is a limit even to England's command of strength—it is predestined to fail before our will to live. This will is unconquerable, imperturbable. We wait for our enemies to recognize this, confident that this recognition must come.

## A Reply to Bethmann Hollweg's Speech

By F. H. Howard  
*Of Williams College*

SINCE the Washington Government has entered into the discussion of peace, it is highly important for Americans to hold just views as to the cause of the war. In the fear that the Chancellor's speech of Nov. 9, 1916, will tend to obscure the actual facts in the minds of some Americans, the following considerations are offered. Even though not new, they may be of value at this time.

Lord Grey had asserted that Russia ordered her general mobilization only after the German mobilization order had been issued. This the Chancellor flatly denies, and it is probable that his denial is technically correct. But actually there is abundant proof that very extensive military preparations were made in Germany during the week prior to the final mobilization order.

Conceding, however, the priority of the Russian general mobilization, the act had an explanation quite different from that officially given by Germany. To quote from the Chancellor's speech, "The act which made war inevitable was the Russian general mobilization ordered on the night of July 30-31, 1914." But this explanation of the war is rather naïve, if not deceitful. The Chancellor's view of the cause of the war does not go back of July 30, when the Russian mobilization was ordered. He consequently holds Russia responsible. Every event has many causes. Strictly speaking, every antecedent of an event is a cause thereof. But in human affairs we regard as the cause the act morally responsible for the event. If a robber enters a house, and the householder resists and is killed, the law holds

the robber responsible, although it is still true that the householder's resistance is the immediate cause of his death. The murderer cannot make in such a case a plea of self-defense. Therefore, allowing that Russian mobilization preceded that of Germany, Americans should not, with puerile simplicity, accept that fact as determining the responsibility for the war.

Historical facts and the official documents relating to the origin of the war show plainly that the responsibility should be placed in the light of words and acts prior to July 30. The reason for Russian mobilization has not been stated as frequently as is desirable, but it is of vital importance. In brief, it is that Russia was forced by the Teutonic allies to choose between these alternatives: Either she could remain a quiet spectator while Austria waged unlimited war on Serbia, with the possible result of complete extinction of Slavic independence in the Balkans, or she could intervene with the certainty that she would have to fight Germany as well as Austria. If she chose the latter course and mobilized on the night of July 30-31, and then waited, who can charge her with responsibility for the war already begun on July 28 by Austrian attack on Serbia, with German acquiescence and assurance of military support, and in spite of Russia's warning? (See German White Book, Exhibit 4.)

Having chosen to protect Serbian independence as well as her own vital interests, that she would be compelled to meet Germany as well as Austria was well known to Russia. The terms of the alliance between Germany and

Austria-Hungary were well known. They had been given vivid reality when Germany stood by Austria "in shining armor" at the time of the Bosnian coup, and compelled Russia's submission. The decision of Germany to give unlimited military support to Austria in July, 1914, was frankly stated in the German White Book, (Exhibit 2, last paragraph.) But Germany, evidently desiring that Russia should not be left in doubt, gave direct warnings at St. Petersburg that she would tolerate no interference by Russia with Austria's procedure against Serbia. On this point one should consult a telegram of the Kaiser (German White Book, Exhibit 22) and a statement of the German Ambassador to the Russian Foreign Minister, (Russian Orange Book No. 58,) as well as the German ultimatum. This warning received by Russia from the German Government is the most important point in the diplomatic conflict preceding the German declaration of war. It is frankly recorded in the German White Book, but is never referred to by later German apologists.

In spite of this certainty of what she would eventually have to face, Russia at first mobilized only against Austria, and extended her mobilization only after efforts at mediation and direct conversations with Austria seemed fruitless (Austrian No. 50, Russian No. 63, British No. 93) and German preparation for war apparent, (Russian No. 68, French No. 118).

It is not easy in the German official statement to distinguish between Prussian naïveté and insincerity. For those who wish to attempt the distinction the following will be an interesting exercise:

(a) Germany condemns Russia because the latter, foreseeing a conflict with Austria, mobilized also against the Teuton ally; but Germany herself, foreseeing a conflict with Russia, mobilized also against France, the ally of Russia.

(b) Germany mentions the recall of the French troops from manoeuvres on July 27 as signifying a hostile intention, (German Exhibit 9,) but she herself recalled her troops from manoeuvres some time prior to July 30 and denied that she had taken any hostile measures, (Rus-

sian No. 68.) The old adage that what is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander is evidently not of Prussian origin.

The Chancellor's speech contains, besides his main indictment of Russia, a discussion of several phases of the diplomatic and military strategy that preceded the declaration of war, viz., the abortive edition of the *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger* announcing prematurely the unborn German order of mobilization, the alleged priority of French mobilization, the stiffening of the war spirit in Russia by the alleged promise of British support, the Austro-Hungarian compliance in mediation proposals, (in fact, agreed to on July 31, but only on condition that Russia should stop all military preparations, and that Austria herself be allowed to continue the war on Serbia, vide Austrian No. 51,) and the question of the British motive for entering the war. The German interpretation of these matters is of doubtful validity and sometimes wholly deceptive. Candid opinion can allow them no force as arguments for the Chancellor's main contention. Two communications that passed between Berlin and Vienna are here published for the first time. They only confirm the obvious fact that German restraint on Austria was ineffectual.

If Americans will visualize the situation at the end of July, 1914, they will see on the one hand Austria-Hungary, deaf to all pacific appeals, and backed by the mighty forces of Germany, hurling her army at the Serbian frontier in defiance of Russia; on the other hand, Russia, jealous of her prestige and determined to protect her small sister State, but striving for a peaceful solution, and finally arming herself only when no alternative remained but ignominious submission to Germany's demand for non-interference.

Germany, like the Roman legate at Carthage, having formed a fold in her robe of diplomacy, said, "Here we bring you war and [ignominious] peace; take which you please." Shall Russia's answer be called the cause of the war? Common candor requires that Germany be held responsible.

# Wartime Methods in Germany

*Address by Herr Dittmann, Socialist Deputy, delivered in the Reichstag*

A system of arbitrary imprisonments adopted as a wartime measure by the German Government has caused serious protest, especially among the irreconcilable Socialists. The full text of Herr Dittmann's speech on this subject in the Reichstag Oct. 28, 1916, has recently reached this country, and is herewith translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE as an interesting record of wartime conditions:

THE object of the projected law relating to the preventive prison (*Schutzaft*) is very acceptable to us; we will co-operate with the commission to obtain an ordinary procedure in legal form, with an obligation of damage rights for persons wronged. But one thing should be understood: this projected law gives the character of a State institution to a species of prison which is absolutely illegal and which, in my opinion, is not justified by any military or political necessity. It would be preferable, therefore, to be guided by our demand and to suppress all reference to the state of siege, and with it the preventive imprisonment.

The preventive prison is today a means of combating parties and individuals who find themselves in political opposition. As far back as last May this form of imprisonment had already created a veritable terror, and since then the situation has only grown worse. The Government has revived the laws of execrable memory that preceded the revolution of 1848 and those voted against the Socialists; the system of police denunciation and the régime of spies are flourishing anew, and, as in the days of the law against the Socialists, hide themselves under the mask of the patriot and the savior of his country.

For years the authorities have kept up these imprisonments, which do not rest on any juridical basis. The safety guaranteed by the laws has been shattered; all protection of the laws has been abrogated, and, as if in derision, this whole procedure has been denominated one of "security and protection." The more benignant this phrase appears, the more does it conceal of baseness and villainy.

A military chief of police openly declared to an Alsatian victim of this system: "In fact, more than one man

profits from this chance to get rid of a good friend." Infamy and debauchery at this moment are feasting in veritable orgies, [the speaker is called to order.] The victims, defenseless, have to bear everything; the denial of justice is crushing them in a way unworthy of a human being, and destroying their material resources and their family life. And this terrible fate has been imposed upon them because no crimes punishable by the laws can be proved against them—in comparison with them criminals are to be envied. For this situation, as terrible from the moral as from the material viewpoint, these gentlemen of the Government appear not to have a spark of intelligence.

## *The Mehring Case Typical*

In the Mehring case Mr. Helfferich naïvely said to the Budget Commission: "It is, however, preferable that Mehring should be in the preventive prison rather than that he should be at liberty and be able to commit an act for which he would have to be punished." According to that logic everybody in the world ought to be arrested in order to preserve everybody from breaking the laws. Mr. Helfferich's ideal seems to be a German national house of detention.

Mehring objects in most energetic fashion to this benevolent intervention of the State, and is ready at any moment to bear the responsibility of his acts.

The Mehring case is a classic proof that we are not very far away from Mr. Helfferich's ideal. Mehring was arrested because, in an intercepted letter addressed to Deputy Herzfeld, he had declared himself in favor of a demonstration for peace in Potsdam Square, and had offered to draw up a manifesto inviting the public to it—that is all that could be charged against him. There was

no punishable act. And that is why this man of more than 70 years was arrested. How long will it be before even thoughts will no longer be free from punishment in Germany?

Mehring is one of our most distinguished historians and authors. He belongs in the first rank of German intellectual life and is known far beyond the boundaries of Germany. The moment that it is learned abroad that such a man has been imprisoned "preventively," simply to eliminate him from public life, you need not be astonished if both inside of Germany and outside of it the German Government is held in very low esteem. A Government must be in a bad plight, indeed, to lock up the brightest minds in the country for the purpose of stifling their valid impulses—that is the first reflection that will occur to every one upon hearing such news.

#### *The Case of Mme. Luxemburg*

In the same fashion Mme. Dr. Rosa Luxemburg has been in prison for long months without the law's being able to establish the slightest misdeed against her. She is in disfavor because of her political views; men fear her intellectual influence upon the laboring masses and the creation of an energetic socialistic opposition. That is why they have put her in prison. The Government does not appear to know that by this act it has aroused the deepest indignation of all the woman Socialists in Germany—that it has given a blow of the fist to the whole socialistic labor movement in Germany by such arrests.

Neither does it appear to understand the effect produced on other nations, whether neutrals or enemies. Its members ought to reflect that to fight against a Government which imprisons without reason some of the most widely known members of the international proletariat must appear a socialistic duty, so to speak, in France, England, Italy, and Russia, and that by such measures the German Government is reviving among its enemies the will to prosecute the war. That is the effect of such a policy of violence.

As for the treatment endured by the

persons arrested, it is truly infamous and revolting. In spite of his great age and his uncertain health, Mehring has been kept for months in a miserable hole; it is only in recent days that his friends have succeeded in having him transferred to the infirmary of the Moabit Prison. As for Mme. Luxemburg, about four weeks ago she was suddenly sent for one evening when she was in bed at the women's prison in Barnim Street and transferred to the police station in Alexander Place. There she was locked in a small cell where only prostitutes arrested in the street are ordinarily confined until they are brought before the Judge. The cell has only half the normal space.

All visits to Mme. Luxemburg are forbidden; the newspapers which she received at Barnim Street have been taken away, and even the visits of her physician have been interdicted. The food is absolutely impossible for her to eat, so that she has had to have her meals brought in from the neighborhood and pay very dear for them. Her health is poor, and only her extraordinary energy keeps her up. One of her close friends writes to a colleague of mine in the prefecture: "The situation at the police station is a direct menace to her life." A moment before this session I was informed that Mme. Luxemburg had suddenly been transferred from that station to Wromke, a province of Posen; exile is thus added to imprisonment. Thus does the preventive prison serve the reactionaries as a weapon against the socialistic opposition in this country.

#### *Case of Mme. Duncker*

In the same fashion, the authorities are hounding the Socialist movement among the young people. The military Government in the Marches has forbidden Comrade Katy Duncker to take any action in favor of the young workingmen's classes under threat of preventive imprisonment. Comrade Duncker asked the military Government for explanations of the juridical basis for this order, and wrote: "I add, besides, that the order must evidently rest upon inaccurate information. In the young workingmen's classes I discuss scientific subjects re-

lating usually to the political sciences and to economic history. It is incomprehensible how such work can be a menace to public safety. Through my class lectures and study courses I have earned a part of my livelihood, and I can the less easily give this up for myself and my three children because my husband has been absent on military service since August of last year."

Thus you see how, as the result of some wretched denunciation, they are taking away from the wife of a soldier the possibility of earning a living by intellectual labor for herself and her children. The example of a pupil of whom I shall speak later proves what high moral character and intellectual force is created in the young workingmen's classes through Mme. Duncker's activities. But first I am going to touch upon yet another case of a young married workingwoman.

#### *Mme. Spahn in Prison*

On the 1st of August of this year a woman, Anna Spahn, was thrown into the preventive prison at Berlin. She wished to attend a meeting called at a public place. On a street corner near the designated place she learned that the meeting had been forbidden and demanded the reason; at this moment some one put a few leaflets into her hand, and she threw them into the air. A policeman came up and arrested her. Up to the present day, after more than three months, that woman is still in prison. [Interruption: "She has just been released."] If she has been released it was done probably because it was known that the question of the "preventive prison" was going to be discussed here. She is the mother of two children of 2 and 6 years, and her husband is at the front. Until her arrest she was earning her living; at that time relatives had to take charge of the children.

#### *Treatment of Young Girls*

The authorities have acted in the same way in many other cases: Young working girls of 17 or 18 years, mere children, as the prison director said, have been held under arrest for months, though they had been living with their

parents, had steady employment, and were helping to support their families. One young girl of 17 years was kept in a cell for months, and finally the injurious charges against her ended in a verdict of no grounds.

Two young girls of 18 years were arrested in Berlin on June 27 for having distributed invitations calling the workingwomen together en masse at Potsdam Place to protest against the Liebknecht trial. The wording of these invitations infringed upon no penal law. Even the words, "Down with the Government!" on that invitation are not punishable. Junius Alter has gone so far as to say that the chief end of the war is to eliminate the Chancellor, and one of his intellectual friends, as you know, has given the lethal advice to blow out the brains of the Chancellor. Then, though the invitations contained nothing punishable, these young girls were taken by the district police of Charlottenburg to the police headquarters of that borough, and, on the morrow, to the police station in Alexander Place. For two months they have been held in prison contrary to all law. The authorities have not been ashamed to put them with a prostitute part of the time. If these young girls are released from that royal Prussian prison without damage to body or soul they will owe the fact primarily to the high moral philosophy which, as they themselves testify with pride, was instilled into them by the Society for the Education of the Young, and notably by Mme. Duncker.

#### *A Young Girl's Letter*

A passage from a letter of one of these girls shows, on the one hand, the great moral and physical danger in which they find themselves, and, on the other hand, the moral elevation which they derived from their knowledge of socialistic philosophy, and which protected them from all impurity. The young woman writes:

The fourth woman was a prostitute held under restraint; she said that she desired to lead an honorable life again. I have not been able to feel the least moral indignation against her. Her moral and intellectual inferiority are accounted for by her heredity, her education, and her previous life. Her

father and mother were half-witted; the former is dead, the latter is in an insane asylum. The woman herself was raised in an orphanage. She has been subjected by turns to forced education, several times in the House of Correction, and latterly in prison and in the institution for the control of manners. She was choleric and nervous; in order to have peace we said nothing, even when she told her past in most shameful fashion. We took our precautions when using the common wash basin; that wounded her, and there was a break which rendered quite insupportable our life together, a thing painful enough in any circumstances. After eight days she left us, and we experienced great relief.

This passage from the letter of a working girl of 18 years is a document for our civilization. It is a brilliant witness to the high value of education for the common people, but also a document of the shame and ignominy of a system of violence which thus tramples under foot the moral consciousness of young girls. The danger for such girls exists also in the preventive prison, for the arrangement of rooms compels the inmates to hear through the windows the conversations carried on by persons who are expiating crimes by imprisonment.

Those two girls and many of their unhappy companions were left for months in that kind of atmosphere. Our language is too poor to excoriate such shamelessness as it deserves. We demand protection against such a prison of protection, which in reality is a prison of filth. (Schutz for dieser Schutzhäft welche eine Schmutzhäft ist!)

#### *Brutality of the Police*

If the Berlin Prefect of Police, in his functions, is still capable of feeling shame, he ought to be ashamed in the presence of these Berlin workingwomen. Respect for the most elementary human sentiments is trampled upon in these arrests; for eight days that young girl was forbidden to announce her arrest to her mother, who was in a torture of fright to know what had happened. They told the girl that the matter would be attended to, but no actual news was given to the mother; it should be remembered, too, that this girl was helping to support her mother and little sister. In consequence of the arrest she lost her place; her father has been at the front

for two years and is wounded. By way of thanking him, they brutalize his daughter behind his back. What must be the feelings of such a father?

After having been released the 11th of this month the young woman was again present at a meeting of the Society for the Education of the Young, at which she did nothing more than attend to matters of business, elections, &c. She was summoned to police headquarters, and an examining magistrate harangued her, telling her that her presence at the meeting was an unheard of impudence when she had just been released. It seems to me that the unheard of impudence was on the other side. She was threatened with imprisonment for the remainder of the war if she took part in another public political meeting. As the girl objected that the Society for the Education of the Young had no political character, and that the meeting was neither political nor public, the magistrate denounced her anew, threatening to arrest her immediately if she said another word.

There you have police brutality in all its purity.

That is how, in a country which has been promised a new official attitude and in which the way was to be opened up for all kinds of ability, they treat a workingman's daughter who, with firmness of will, seeks, despite all difficulties, to follow her path toward instruction and education. By these means the Government is trying systematically to kill all spirit of independence. This is why members of the Social Democratic Party who desire an energetic opposition are arrested. By eliminating the directing elements of the opposition the Government thinks to crush the head of the serpent: it has learned nothing and forgotten nothing.

#### *Meyer and Regge Cases*

The director of Vorwärts, Dr. Meyer, who can be reproached with nothing except political ideas that are not agreeable to the authorities, has been confined for months in preventive prison. He is suffering from an affection of the lungs, and is at the present moment in the infirmary of the Moabit Prison; all his re-

quests to be allowed to go to a sanatorium have been denied.

The Director of the organ of the Furriers' Association, Companion Regge, the father of six children, has been in preventive prison since Aug. 17 of this year. Why? Because he condemns and combats the war policy of the committee of the Social Democratic Party. There has been issued at his expense a circular which he had published a half year before his arrest, under his signature and that of two others, which treated of an internal difference in the Teltow-Beeskow faction. By energetic insistence he succeeded, on the 11th of September, in being at least told why he was under arrest. At that time the following reasons were imparted to him: On May 27 he had been Secretary of the general meeting of the electoral association, and had proposed at that meeting a resolution advocating a refusal of contributions to the Social Democratic committee, at the same time urging a more active policy in the Reichstag on the part of the Social Democratic Labor Union. Furthermore, he had signed the protest addressed to the committee of the party. In June he had taken part in the demonstration for Liebknecht, though he had not made himself prominent in any way. The charges against him, therefore, were purely political.

#### *Case of Editor Kluers*

Another signer of the manifesto, Editor Kluers, has been in preventive prison for eight months, and, despite all his efforts, cannot obtain his liberty; all sorts of charges have been invented against him. Thus he is said to have called a conference of young men on Feb. 5 at Neukölln, but he has been able to prove that he was not there at all; the spies had made a false accusation. But, even if he had been there, and had spoken, that would not have justified preventive imprisonment. If he had said anything punishable, he could have been proceeded against under the criminal code.

He was reproached, besides, with desiring to publish a manifesto against the Social Democratic Party committee; that also rests on a false affirmation. His

principal crime consists in having cooperated in the publication of the manifesto regarding the split in the Teltow-Beeskow faction, but on the next day after the police seized that manifesto they had to give it back, because the Military Government could not justify the confiscation; yet in spite of this the imprisonment of Kluers was persisted in.

The treatment inflicted on Editor Kluers in prison cries to heaven for vengeance and is a mockery of all human sentiment. On Aug. 22 he received from his daughter the news that his wife, who was living at Kiel with the children, was seriously ill, had been taken to the hospital, and desired greatly to speak with him. He asked to be released, inclosing the telegram, but only after weeks of delay did he receive a negative reply. On Sept. 10 Kluers was again informed that his wife, who was dying, begged to be allowed to speak with him; again the Military Government refused the request. On Sept. 22 the attending physician certified that she was at the point of death. The next day this certificate was in the hands of the local commandant, but it was not sent to Kluers until six days later, on the 28th of September. Meanwhile, on the 25th he had received a telegram from his daughter that his wife was dead and would be buried on the 27th. Immediately, inclosing the telegram, he demanded to be allowed at least to attend the funeral. On the evening of the 26th he was still without a reply. He telegraphed to his lawyer, begging him to come immediately and confer with him; but this telegram was not allowed to be sent until the 30th, three days after the burial!

Having received no reply whatever, he had to give up taking any part in the funeral.

Finally, on Oct. 2, he received a notice, dated Sept. 30, that his request was denied, since the burial of his wife had already taken place.

Really, one wonders whether these are men of flesh and blood who are capable of giving such answers, or whether they are modern torturers, executioners who play with the moral agony of others and

who martyrize the most sacred feelings of the human heart.\*

There are other facts which prove that this was a deliberate and conscious torture of a defenseless man. In order to explain his absence at the funeral Kluers telegraphed to Kiel that he had not yet received a reply; this telegram was not sent until three days after the funeral. His son, who is at the front and who had received permission to attend the funeral, was painfully impressed by his father's absence. He wrote to him on Sept. 29 that he desired to speak to him, as his furlough extended to Oct. 4. The letter reached the local authorities on Sept. 30, but was not delivered to Kluers until Oct. 4, the day when the furlough expired; that is the way they prevented an interview between father and son. Even before the death of the mother, when the son was leaving for the front on Sept. 9, he tried in vain to be admitted to see his father. In all this, therefore, there is a method and a system.

There are other rascalities besides. On Oct. 1 Kluers's lease expired, and on Sept. 22 he asked for permission to rent a new apartment and make preparations for removal. On Sept. 28 and 30, and again on Oct. 2, he renewed his demand for a decision; the result was that they sent a police agent to him, who advised him to get a friend to look for a new house and take care of the moving. The landlord cited Kluers in court to have him evicted, but the permission asked by Kluers to attend the trial was refused.

Through these and similar persecutions the authorities are making this man's life a hell; yet there is nothing against him, except political ideas which are in disfavor, and for which, without any legal justification, he has been thrown into preventive prison. We are compelled to conclude that he is being pursued systematically with the purpose of destroying him.

\*In replying to these facts Mr. Helfferich contented himself with saying that Mr. and Mrs. Kluers were estranged. It was merely a matter, then, of the wife's desire to reconcile herself with her husband on her deathbed!

Public "safety" has nothing whatever to do with all this. This system, which grows worse the longer it lasts, is purely a matter of arbitrary brutality.

#### *Tyranny in the Provinces*

This system is applied to the provinces as well as to Berlin. At Düsseldorf six of our members were thrown into the so-called preventive prison at the end of July for having distributed leaflets. Among them were Schotte, an editor, and Kulich, Secretary of the syndicate. They have been in prison more than two months and a half, and up to the present moment none of them has been allowed to communicate with a lawyer.

Two of these imprisoned persons were shut up for weeks in the police station with criminals; in the cell there was no bed, and they had to sleep on wooden planks without undressing. It was impossible to bathe, the food was unfit to eat, and they were not permitted to exercise. Amid the most primitive and outrageous conditions these men had to remain without redress until, after repeated complaints, they succeeded in obtaining better quarters. One of these prisoners, having asked the reason of his arrest, received from the military authorities of Münster the reply that perhaps he would be heard as a witness before the Leipsic court, and that is why this man has been three months in prison!

The case of Editor Oerter of Brunswick is similar. On Aug. 22 he was arrested and thrown into preventive prison; he has been there more than two months, and with him Genzer, a syndicate functionary. He has not been told why he was arrested. In the beginning he was accused of having taken part in the publication of a manifesto; of that there was not the slightest proof; absolutely nothing has been proved that could incriminate him in any way. No preliminary hearing has been given him, though the prisoner has asked for one, and though he has demanded, ceaselessly but vainly, to be brought before the common court.

These men have been imprisoned on the strength of a miserable, lying denunciation; it is evidently the intention

to punish them—as it is in all the cases I have cited—because of their political convictions, which are those of the opposition.

### *The Prison or the Trenches*

It is true that the Minister of War published, on the 22d of this month, a decree calling for a more liberal policy; but I cite in opposition a decree of the Military Government at Dantzig issued Sept. 12, which recommends the preventive prison as an effective means for getting rid of the Social Democratic orators who speak against the food monopoly. In this decree, which my colleague Wurn cited during the discussion of the potato question, there is the following characteristic phrase: "The principal chiefs and leaders will be put in preventive prison or called under arms. Good results have been obtained in two regions with this ruling, and we recommend that it be imitated in others."

I am going to show you a striking example of the fact that the authorities are working on the recipe of "preventive prison or the trenches." The case is that of a syndicate Secretary, Sauerbrey of Elberfeld-Barmen, who is represented by our colleague Eoert. On June 20 manifestos were pasted up on the public bulletin boards of that place, and on the same day three persons were accused of having helped to spread these notices. On June 27 the syndicate Secretary Sauerbrey was arrested. In the police headquarters at Elberfeld he was at once cross-examined in the most detailed fashion, but it was established beyond possible doubt that he had not taken the least part in the distribution of the manifestos; in spite of this fact, however, because he belonged to the opposition which has sprung up in the heart of the Social Democratic Party, he was thrown into "preventive" prison. They let him write letters to his family, but the letters were not mailed. After three weeks he demanded to be heard, protested against a situation contrary to right and law, and threatened to let himself die of hunger if he were not brought before the ordinary Judge.

For two whole days he refused food.

This produced the first effect. He was taken to the Court House and assused of treason and incitement to revolt, but this accusation soon evaporated. Sauerbrey made an appeal which was admitted by the superior court of the empire with the approval of the Attorney General.

Great care was taken after that not to set him at liberty; on the contrary, he was again taken to the police station. The next day he had to go before a council of revision, and was assigned to the army. Before that he had been declared unfit, because he had lost several finger joints of his right hand. It is a typical example of the Dantzig recipe, "preventive prison or army service." He was called to the service immediately, with only one hour's grace, and with a soldier accompanying him during that hour; when he visited his home he had not even time to see his children again after his long imprisonment. Now he is under instruction at the barracks preparatory to being sent to the front.

This affair provoked measureless indignation in the labor world of Elberfeld-Barmen. Sauerbrey had filled the place of a syndicate Secretary for a year past, and had given free aid to innumerable persons who had come to consult him, especially of families of soldiers at the front. After his call to service it was necessary to withdraw the benefits of these consultations from all those who did not belong to a labor organization. The blow aimed at him therefore strikes most severely many poor people who need aid. Yet the military Government of Münster is astonished that in all the valley of the Wupper the people are more and more discontented, and is hatching new measures to make itself master of the unrest. One might imagine the whole thing to be a madhouse drama, but it is reality and a "state of siege."

### *Other Typical Instances*

This is no isolated case. I could cite many more. Let me recall that of Weinberg. Weinberg was present when an orderly came to announce to the physician who was to examine him that the Recruiting Bureau was well aware that

Weinberg was unfit for service, and that, nevertheless, he ought not to be liberated.

Ever since the beginning of the war there has been in preventive prison at Elberfeld a workman named Albrecht, who can be reproached for nothing unless it be for holding opinions that are frowned upon by the military. Four men arrested with him have already been sent to the army. In general, in the Seventh District, political undesirables are very frequently sent into the army. Army headquarters receive notice from the General Government of Münster that a certain man has been called and assigned to the corps, and his private record follows; this record naturally contains all sorts of secret entries from police spies. In the region of the Rhine a great number of these cases are known and have created an immense animosity.

Many interdictions were also issued more than a year ago forbidding members of our party to speak on pain of imprisonment, because they had signed an address to the committee of the Social Democratic Party demanding a change of policy during the war. At Düsseldorf a workman was forbidden to speak because, at a public meeting, he had uttered a very justifiable criticism of the food furnished by the war kitchen. Such are the rigorous measures which the authorities are using to render impossible

all criticism of our internal situation. The arbitrary power of our rulers under the "state of siege" no longer recognizes any limits.

For all these persecutions of inoffensive citizens it has been necessary to create an army of police spies and functionaries of all sorts, which is daily growing larger. All these gentry would no longer need to be paid out of the public Treasury if the persecutions were stopped. A great proportion of these agents and functionaries would immediately become available for useful work in the army. Their present positions are, for the most part, hiding places where they seek to escape military service, and they cling to these with all their strength, seeking to prove daily that they are indispensable through their discoveries of all sorts of misdeeds; because they themselves do not wish to go into the trenches, they send others to prison. Thus it is that they keep up the appearance of work and assume to wear the halo of saviors of the State. It is the duty of the people's representatives to clean out these Augean stables and to remove the basis of such a military reign of terror. Vote, then, for our motion demanding the suppression of siege measures, and thus help us to put an end to a situation that is a shame and disgrace to the German name.

## Merchant Ships of Central Powers in American Ports

There are sixty-eight German and Austrian merchant vessels in the ports of the United States, of which number fifty-four are German. Twenty-nine of these ships are in New York Harbor. In addition to these there is a merchant vessel (German) in the port of San Juan, Porto Rico; a gunboat is held at Honolulu, and the two German cruisers, Eitel Friedrich and Kronprinz Wilhelm, are interned at Norfolk. The merchant vessels are not, however, interned. They are free to leave the ports of the United States whenever they ask for and obtain clearance papers.



# Enslavement of the Belgians

## New Documents in the Case

GERMANY'S military policy of deporting Belgian laborers and compelling them to work in an enemy country has continued to be the subject of strong protests during the month just past. Three thousand persons in mass meeting at Carnegie Hall, New York, on Dec. 15, called upon the Government of the United States to protest with "all its force and earnestness" against the enslavement of Belgians. Bankers, railroad Presidents, college Presidents, Bishops and priests, distinguished lawyers, professional and public men of national reputation, took part in the meeting.

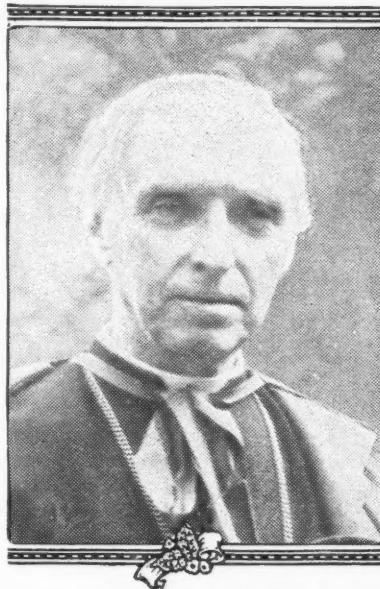
Written protests from Belgians have continued to pour in upon Governor General von Bissing, who, in turn, following the instructions of the Imperial Government, has reiterated the necessity of these deportations and has continued to increase the number of exiles. Cardinal Mercier's further protests to the Governor General have reached the United States, and are placed on record in this magazine, with General von Bissing's reply; also the moving appeal of 500,000 Belgian workingmen to their fellow-laborers in the United States.

The charge that, despite the assertions of Baron von Bissing, the deported Belgians in Germany are being forced to do work of a distinctly military character, is made by neutral eyewitnesses. They state that the exiles are employed in digging trenches, carpentering them, laying electric wires for military works, and preparing ground for wire entangle-

ments. The Belgian Deputies and Senators at Mons drew up a letter replying to von Bissing's assertion that the deportations were for the purpose of bettering the conditions of unemployed men. The facts cited include the following:

At Quaregnon, of 1,000 workmen compelled to report to the authorities, 304 have been deported. Among the latter are 227 who were not unemployed, including four farmers, five master bakers, six bakers, one master butcher, one brewery engineer, the manager of a large brewery, one conspicuous merchant, the son of a Director of iron works, and one master printer. At Dour, of 137 deportees, there are 117 employed men, among them nine farmers, four students, and numbers of small shopmen working at home. At Wasmes, of 136 deportees, 130 were employed. At Frameries, of 200 deportees, 157 were employed. At Hornu, of 140 deportees, 87 were employed. At Paturages, of 155 deportees, 109 were employed. At Ghlin, of 155 deportees, 109 were employed. At Wavre Burgomaster Indl informed the recruiting officers that all men called up for control were employed. He had himself made inquiry, and he asked to be allowed to produce his evidence. His remarks were brushed aside, and, of 450 men called up for control, 45 were deported, all employed.

Other authoritative documents have come to hand to prove that the state of idleness which Germany has used as an excuse was produced by robbing the country of its raw materials and transporting them to Germany. The most eloquent statement of this phase of the indictment is contained in the letter of the Federation of Managers of Belgian Industries, a translation of which appears in connection with the present article. A similar protest of the Senators and Deputies of



CARDINAL MERCIER  
(Photo © Amer. Press Association)

the Belgian Province of Luxemburg shows that in the province named there was no unemployment at all, thanks to extensive public works undertaken by the Belgian authorities to avoid such a condition; but that the forcible deportation of workmen interrupted these enterprises and spread suffering among the population.

A sidelight on the subject is afforded by the following advertisement, which appeared in a Holland newspaper on Nov. 2, 1916, in the early stages of the affair:

NOTICE

The Burgomaster of Hoorn (Holland) informs Belgian refugees resident in this place that the German Government has informed the Netherlands Legation that it desires Bel-

gian refugees to return home, so that normal conditions may again prevail in occupied Belgium, and it has submitted a communication to the Legation, of which a textual translation is as follows:

"A rumor has been spread among the Belgian refugees in Holland that if they return to Belgium the German authorities will forbid their going back to Holland for the purpose of getting their families. The Governor General declares that this rumor, which is absolutely false and contrary to the re-establishing of normal conditions, should be denied, and the refugees convinced that their search for their families is authorized."

A. A. DE JONGH,  
Burgomaster of Hoorn.

The course of events in Belgium since then has not tended to allay the suspicions of these refugees.

## Cardinal Mercier's Appeal for Deported Belgians

**O**N the day after the capitulation of Antwerp the terrified people begged Cardinal Mercier to ascertain what the Germans were going to do with young men of military age. Moved by the supplications of fathers and mothers, the Cardinal had an interview with the German Military Governor of Antwerp, Baron von Huene, who authorized him to reassure the frightened parents, declaring that there was no need to fear that young men would be taken away to Germany, either for enrollment in the army or for forced labor. At the Cardinal's request Baron von Huene put this assurance into writing. When Baron von der Goltz became Governor General at Brussels the Cardinal obtained confirmation of these guarantees, but when Baron von Bissing succeeded to the Military Governorship they began at length to be violated on an enormous scale. On Oct. 19 Cardinal Mercier addressed to Baron von Bissing his first protest against the Belgian deportations, saying in conclusion:

In the name of the Belgian citizen's liberty of domicile and liberty of labor; in the name of morality, which would be gravely compromised by this system of deportation; in the name of the promise given by the Governor of the Province of Antwerp and by the Governor General, the immediate representative of the highest authority in the German Empire, I respectfully pray your Excellency

to withdraw the measures of forced labor and of deportation with which the Belgian workingmen are threatened, and to restore to their firesides those who have already been deported.

As the deportations continued by thousands Cardinal Mercier at length carried his appeal to the arbitrament of the whole world in a longer protest, issued Nov. 7. Parts of this document were published in the December number of *CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE*, but the full text follows:

Malines, Nov. 7, 1916.

Every day the military authorities deport from Belgium into Germany thousands of inoffensive citizens to oblige them there to perform forced labor.

As early as Oct. 19 we sent to the Governor General a protest, a copy of which was handed to the representatives of the Holy See, of Spain, the United States, and Holland, in Brussels, but the Governor General replied to it that nothing could be done.

At the time of our protest the orders of the occupying power threatened only the unemployed; today every able-bodied man is carried off, pell-mell, assembled in freight cars, and carried off to unknown parts, like a herd of slaves. The enemy proceeds by regions. Vague rumors had come to our ears that arrests had been made in Tournau, Ghent, and Alost, but we were not aware of the conditions under which they had been made. Between Oct. 24 and Nov. 2 deportations took place in the region of Mons, Quievrain, Saint Guislain, Jemappes, in bunches of 800 to 1,200 men a day. The next and the following days they were extended to the Arrondisse-

ment of Nivelles. Here is a specimen of the announcement concerning the proceedings:

"By order of the Kreischef every male person over 17 years old shall present himself, Place Saint Paul, in Nivelles, on Nov. 8, 1916, at 8 o'clock, (Belgian time,) 9 o'clock, (Central time,) bringing with him his identification card and eventually his card from the Meldeamt.

"Only small hand baggage is permitted.

"Those not presenting themselves will be forcibly deported into Germany, and will besides be liable to a heavy fine and to long imprisonment.

"Ecclesiastics, physicians, lawyers, and teachers are exempt from this order.

"The Mayors will be held responsible for the proper execution of this order, which must be brought immediately to the knowledge of the inhabitants."

Between the announcement and the deportation there is an interval of only twenty-four hours.

Under pretext of public works to be performed on Belgian soil, the occupying power had attempted to obtain from the communities the lists of workingmen out of work. Most of the communities proudly refused.

Three decrees from the General Government prepared the way for the execution which is in force today.

Under date of Aug. 15, 1915, a first decree imposes, under penalty of imprisonment and fine, forced work on the idle, but adds that the work is to be executed in Belgium, and that noncompliance will be adjudged by Belgian tribunals.

A second decree, dated May 2, 1916, reserves the right of the German authorities to supply work to the idle, and threatens a fine of three years' imprisonment and 20,000 marks imposable on anybody executing or ordering to be executed work not approved of by the General Government.

Under the same decree, the right to judge infractions which had remained with the Belgian tribunals passed from the Belgian to the German tribunals.

A third decree, dated May 13, 1916, "authorizes the Governors, the military commanders, and the chiefs of arrondissements to order that the unemployed be conducted by force to the places where they must work." This was already forcible working, although in Belgium.

Now it is no longer a question of forcible working in Belgium, but in Germany, and for the benefit of the Germans.

To give an appearance of plausibility to these violent measures, the occupying power insisted in the German press, both in Germany and Belgium, on these two pretexts: the unemployed constitute a danger to public order and a burden on official benevolence.

To this we replied in a letter addressed to the Governor General and to the head of the Political Department on Oct. 16, as follows:

"You are well aware that public order is

in no wise threatened and that all influences, moral and civil, would support you spontaneously were it in danger. The unemployed are not a burden on official benevolence; it is not from your funds that they receive assistance."

In his reply the Governor General no longer urges these two first considerations, but he alleges that "doles to the unemployed, from whatever source they may come at present, must finally be a charge upon our finances, and that it is the duty of a good administrator to lighten such charges"; he adds that "prolonged unemployment would cause our workmen to lose their technical proficiency, and that in the time of peace to come they would be useless to industry."

True, there were other ways in which our finances might have been protected. We might have been spared those war levies which have now reached the sum of one billion francs, and are still amounting up at the rate of forty millions a month; we might have been spared those requisitions in kind, which amount to several thousands of millions, and are exhausting us.

There are other ways of providing for the maintenance of professional skill among our workpeople, such as leaving to Belgian industry its machinery and accessories, its raw materials, and its manufactured goods, which have passed from Belgium into Germany. And it is neither to the quarries nor to the lime kilns to which the Germans themselves declare our specialists will go to complete their professional education.

The naked truth is that every deported workman is another soldier for the German Army. He will take the place of a German workman, who will be made into a soldier. Thus the situation which we denounce to the civilized world may be reduced to these terms: Four hundred thousand workmen have been thrown out of work by no fault of their own, and largely on account of the régime of the occupation. Sons, husbands, and fathers of families, they bear their unhappy lot without murmuring, respectful of public order; national solidarity provides their most pressing wants; by dint of unselfish thrift and self-denial they escape extreme destitution, and they await with dignity and in a mutual affection which our national sorrows have intensified, the end of our common ordeal.

Groups of soldiers introduced themselves forcibly in the homes of these people, tearing the young people out of the arms of their parents, the husband from his wife, the father from his children; at the point of the bayonet they block the entrances to the homes, preventing wives and mothers from rushing out to say a last farewell to them; they align the captives in groups of forty or fifty and push them forcibly into freight cars; the locomotive is under steam, and as soon as a trainload is ready, an officer gives the signal and they depart. Thus are another thousand Belgians reduced to slavery,

without previous trial, condemned to the penalty which comes next in cruelty to the death penalty—deportation. They do not know how long their exile is going to last, neither do they know where they are going. All they know is that their work will benefit the enemy. Several of them have been brought to sign—by coercion or by threats—an engagement which their oppressors dare to call "voluntary."

While they certainly take the unemployed, they also take a large number in the proportion of one-quarter for the Arrondissement of Mons—of men who were never out of work and who belong to diversified professions—butchers, bakers, tailors, brewery workers, electricians, farmers; they even take the youngest men, college and university students, or young men from other high schools.

This in spite of the fact that two high authorities of the German Empire had formally guaranteed the liberty of our compatriots.

The day after the capitulation of Antwerp the frightened populace asked itself what would become of the Belgians of military age or those which would arrive at that age before the end of the siege. Baron von Huene, Military Governor of Antwerp, authorized me to reassure in his name the frightened parents. However, as rumors were running that in Antwerp, Liège, Namur, and Charleroi young men had been seized and forcibly carried off to Germany, I asked Governor von Huene to confirm to me in writing the verbal guarantees which he had given me. He replied that the rumors pertaining to deportations were without foundation, and he gave me without hesitancy the written declaration which was read on Sunday, Oct. 18, 1914, in all the parochial churches of the Arrondissement of Antwerp: "Young men need have no fear of being carried off to Germany, either for enrollment in the army or for forcible employment."

Immediately after the arrival of Baron von der Goltz in the capacity of Governor General at Brussels, I went to ask him to ratify the guarantees given by Governor von Huene to the Province of Antwerp extending them to the whole country without any time limit. The Governor General retained my petition in order to consider it at his leisure. The following day he was good enough to come in person to Malines to express his approval and in the presence of two aides de camp and of my private secretary to confirm the promise that the liberty of the Belgian citizens would be respected.

In my letter of Oct. 16 last to Baron von Bissing after reminding him of the undertaking given by his predecessor, I concluded: "Your Excellency will understand how painful would be the burden of responsibility that I have incurred toward families if the confidence they placed in you through me and at my earnest entreaty should be so lamentably disappointed."

The Governor General replied: "The em-

ployment of the Belgian unemployed in Germany, which has only been initiated after two years of war, differs essentially from the captivity of men fit for military service. Moreover, the measure is not related to the conduct of the war, properly speaking, but it is determined by social and economic causes."

As if the word of an honest man were terminable at the end of a year or two! As if the declaration confirmed in 1914 did not explicitly exclude both military operations and forced labor! As if, in fine, every Belgian workman who takes the place of a German workman did not enable the latter to fill a gap in the German Army!

We, the shepherds of these sheep who are torn from us by brutal force, full of anguish at the thought of the moral and religious isolation in which they are about to languish, impotent witnesses of the grief and terror in the numerous homes shattered or threatened, appeal to all souls, believers or unbelievers, in allied countries, in neutral countries, and even in enemy countries, who have a respect for human dignity.

When Cardinal Lavigerie embarked on his anti-slavery campaign, Pope Leo XIII., as he blessed his mission, remarked: "Opinion is more than ever the queen of the world. It is on this you must work. You will only conquer by means of opinion."

May Divine Providence deign to inspire all who have any authority, all who are masters of speech and pen, to rally around our humble Belgian flag for the abolition of European slavery.

May human conscience triumph over all sophisms and remain steadfastly faithful to the great precept of St. Ambrose: Honor above everything! *Nihil praeferendum honestati!*

In the name of the Belgian Bishops.  
[Signed.]

D. J. (Cardinal) MERCIER,  
Archbishop of Malines.

### Governor Bissing's Reply

P. A. I-11,254 Brussels, Nov. 23, 1916.  
Most Honored Cardinal:

I acknowledge receipt of your honored letter dated Nov. 10, and of the manuscript letter dated Nov. 15, concerning the delay in delivery. This is the answer which I have to give:

Your Eminence wrote to me on Oct. 19 last requesting that the utilization of Belgian unemployed in Germany should come to an end. In my answer dated Oct. 28 I have, in spite of my appreciation of your point of view in the matter, indicated the reasons and the ideas which have inspired the decisions of the occupying power with relation to the question of labor. These decisions were not arbitrary or hastily taken without sufficient consideration for the difficulties of the problem; they were the outcome of ripe reflection bearing on the circumstances and the necessity recognized as unavoidable.

On the whole, I feel obliged to remind your Eminence once more of my explanations of Oct. 28. Your objections to these are founded on either a misconception of these explanations or on ideas to which I cannot, on principle, reconcile myself.

The extensive unemployment which prevails in Belgium is a great social evil, and the employment of idle Belgians in Germany brings them great benefit. I said to your Eminence, on my arrival in Belgium, that I wanted to heal the wounds inflicted by the war upon the Belgian people; the recent measures are not in the least in contradiction with this declaration. I must also consider as a misrepresentation of facts the way your Eminence sets aside the many and often successful efforts which I have made to revive Belgium's economic life with the remark that, on the contrary, unemployment has been artificially created.

Regarding the importation of raw materials into Belgium and the exportation of manufactured articles, England has made unacceptable conditions. There were some time ago negotiations between neutral and Belgian organizations on this question; to dwell on them would lead me too far. I can only repeat here that the present regrettable circumstances are the result, fundamentally, of England's policy of isolation, just as the seizure by us of all raw material was only, after all, a forced consequence of the same policy.

I must also firmly maintain that the occupation affords the country, from the economic point of view, all the advantages which can be provided, considering the conditions enforced on us by England.

In the execution of the measures taken concerning the unemployed, my administration has met with a series of difficulties which cause some inconvenience to the population. All this might have been avoided if the communal authorities had made their execution more simple and more effective by their attitude toward them. Under the present circumstances, we are obliged to use a more involved procedure, into which a wider circle of people are necessarily drawn.

Measures, however, have been taken in order to avoid mistakes as much as possible. Some definite classes of professions have been exempted beforehand from submitting to control, and the individual claims, if they are well founded, will be either immediately considered or submitted to further examination.

Your Eminence will understand from what is stated above that it is impossible to comply with the desire concerning the stoppage of the measures which have been adopted, and that, in spite of the difficulties which we have met, their execution is pursued in the interest of all.

I am, your Eminence, &c.,

BARON VON BISSING,  
Governor General.

### *The Cardinal's Answer*

Archbishopric of Malines,  
Nov. 29, 1916.

To the Governor General, Sir:

The letter (I-11,254) which your Excellency did me the honor to write to me, under date of Nov. 23, is a disappointment to me. In various circles, which I had reason to believe were correctly informed, it was said, your Excellency, that you had felt it your duty to protest to the highest authorities of the empire against the measures which you were constrained to apply in Belgium. I counted on at least a delay in the application of these measures, while they were being submitted to fresh examination, and also on some relaxation of the rigor with which they are applied.

And now, your Excellency, without replying one word to any of the arguments by which I established the illegal and anti-social character of the condemnation of the Belgian working classes to forced labor and to deportation, you confine yourself to repeating, in your telegram of Nov. 23 the very text of your letter of Oct. 26. These two letters are, really, identical in matter and almost in word.

On the other hand, the recruiting of the so-called unemployed continues, generally without any regard for the observations of the local authorities. Several reports which I have in hand prove that the clergy are brutally thrust aside, burgomasters and town councilors reduced to silence; the recruiters then find themselves face to face with unknown men, among whom they arbitrarily make their choice. There are abundant examples to prove this statement. I will give two recent ones, chosen from a quantity of others which I hold at the disposal of your Excellency.

On Nov. 21 recruiting began in the commune of Kersbeek-Miscom. From the 1,325 inhabitants of this commune the recruiters took away altogether, without any distinction of social position or profession, farmers' sons, men who were supporting aged and infirm parents, fathers of families who left wives and families in misery, each of them as necessary to his family as its daily bread. Two families found themselves deprived each of four sons at once. Among ninety-four deportees there were only two unemployed.

In the region of Aarschot recruiting began on Nov. 23; at Rillaer, at Gebrede, at Rotselaer, young men, supporting their widowed mothers; farmers at the head of large families, (one of these, who is over 50 years of age, has ten children working on the land,) who possess cattle and have never touched a penny of public money, were taken away by force in spite of all their protestations. In the little commune of Rillaer they actually took twenty-five boys of 17.

Your Excellency wished that the communal councils should become the accomplices of this odious recruiting. By their legal situa-

tion and by reason of conscience, they could not do so. But they could have advised the recruiters and are entitled to do so. The priests, who know the working people better than any one else, might have been of the utmost assistance to the recruiters. Why is their help refused?

At the end of your letter, your Excellency, you remind me that men belonging to liberal professions are not interfered with. If only the unemployed were removed I could understand this exception. But if all able-bodied men continue to be enrolled indiscriminately the exception is unjustifiable. It would be iniquitous to make the whole weight of the deportations fall upon the working classes. The middle classes must have their part in

the sacrifice, however cruel it may be, and just because it is cruel, that the occupying power imposes on the nation. A great many members of my clergy have asked me to beg for them a place in the van of the persecuted. I register their offer and submit it to you with pride.

I would wish to believe that the authorities of the empire have not said their last word. They will think of our undeserved sorrows, of the reprobation of the civilized world, of the judgment of history, and of the chastisement of God.

I have the honor to be, your Excellency,  
&c.,

D. J. (Cardinal) MERCIER,  
Archbishop of Malines.

## Text of Allies' Declaration Regarding the Present State of Belgium

**T**HE British Foreign Office issued the following declaration in December, with the approval and concurrence of the French, Russian, and Italian Governments, which published similar statements:

The Belgian Government have solemnly protested to the civilized world against the slave raids conducted by the German authorities in Belgium.

The allies of Belgium associate themselves with that protest, and, further desiring to place on record their sense of the debt which they owe to her, unite in making the following declaration:

"When the sudden invasion of Belgium, long prepared by the Central Empires, attained its temporary success, the Allies agreed that the provisioning and maintenance of the Belgian people remaining in the occupied territories was a duty overriding all consideration of immediate military interests. When, therefore, the Belgian Government set on foot the work of relief, and intrusted it to a neutral commission for relief in Belgium, the allied Governments pledged themselves to the support of that commission. As soon as the financial resources of the Belgian Government were exhausted, the Allies provided sums for the continuation of the work. They have furnished the commission with shipping and all other necessary facilities. Further, they have done their utmost, through the neutral commission, to protect Belgian industry from the disastrous consequences of invasion. They have facilitated exports to neutral countries and the transmission of funds to Belgium for wages and for the upkeep of factories. They have repeatedly made offers to the Germans which would have further promoted Belgian industry and trade under the

care of the neutral commission, and would have allowed the importation of raw materials into Belgium. But these offers have met with no reply.

"The Allies call this to mind, not as taking credit to themselves, but in order to show what has been their consistent policy. They have labored to protect Belgium so far as possible from the effects of the war, and they have sought no advantage for themselves from this policy, since they have, through the Belgian Government, intrusted its execution solely to a neutral commission which has consistently refrained from assisting either belligerent and has acted solely in the interests of the civil population of Belgium.

"The Allies have only stipulated that the Germans should equally draw no advantage from the operations of the commission; that they should not seize either imported or native supplies; and that the distribution of relief should not be used for the purpose of coercing Belgian workmen against their conscience. These conditions, which the Germans have pledged themselves to obey, have, in the past, been frequently violated; Belgian cattle have been driven out of Belgium to feed the German armies at the front, Belgian workmen have been coerced, and seizures and requisitions of foodstuffs have taken place throughout the occupied territories. The Germans have also seized raw materials, machinery, and all the property of Belgian factories essential to the maintenance of the national industry, and have thus deliberately created unemployment and misery.

"But these infractions of the German guarantees have in the past been disavowed in many cases by the German Government, and the Allies were content to rely upon the neutral commission to watch over and enforce the fulfillment of the conditions under which it worked. Now, however, the situation is changing. The Germans have abandoned all

pretense of respecting personal freedom in Belgium. They have deliberately ordered the suspension of public relief works supported by the neutral commission, and have openly, in spite of all their professions to the contrary, aimed at creating the unemployment which would furnish them with an excuse for deportations. They have become themselves the 'organizers of, and co-operators with, man-hunts' which they solemnly pledged themselves by the Brussels Convention of 1890 to put down in Africa. Further, the machinery of Belgian industry has now been totally destroyed, and the exports from Belgium of foodstuffs essential for the maintenance of the population has again begun on a large scale.

"The Allies must, therefore, warn the world of what is about to take place. As their own situation grows more desperate, the Central Empires intend to tear up every guarantee on which the work of the relief commission rests. They intend to cast aside all their promises and to use Belgian foodstuffs and Belgian labor to support their own failing strength. The work of relief which

neutrals have built up for two years is about to lose its foundation and is in danger of falling.

"The Allies do not intend to change their policy or to desert the oppressed population of Belgium in this most critical moment of the war, but, as it will be impossible for the relief work to continue if its basic guarantees are destroyed, they appeal to the civilized world, not on their own behalf, but on that of innocent civilians who cannot protect themselves, to see that this great work of international benevolence and co-operation which has grown up in the midst of war, and for which the Allies have advanced the money, shall not be endangered by treachery or destroyed by violence. But they would remind the world that the German policy which now stands revealed is being carried out not only in Belgium, but in Northern France, and in all the occupied territories.

"For their part, the Allies pledge themselves not to seek in the future any more than in the past any advantage from the operations of this purely neutral commission."

## Protest of Chiefs of Belgian Industries

THE Federation of the Managers of Large Industries in Belgium addressed the following protest to Governor General von Bissing in November. The French text, which recently reached the United States, is here translated in full for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE:

Your Excellency: The chiefs of Belgian industry would fail in their duty if they did not protest with all their force against the measures which are carrying grief into the bosoms of an ever-increasing number of workingmen's families, and which are hastening the ruin of the nation's business enterprises.

You have often flattered yourself, Excellency, that you would revive business activities in our country. You desired thus to fulfill the promises made in the proclamation in which you announced your accession to your high office, and to confirm the unforgettable declarations of your predecessor.

Everything at that time was working together to cause that utterance to produce a reassuring effect upon our citizens. They knew that at The Hague, in the solemn conclave of civilized nations, the Imperial German Government had sanctioned, and even proposed, the resolutions that were meant to preserve peaceful civilian populations from the horrors of war. The Belgians who had fled before the invasion were induced to return to their homes by other proclamations, which likewise contained the most formal

promises of respect and security for their persons and property. We were willing to put our faith in these promises.

Soon these illusions were dissipated. Arrangements made in the offices of the Grand Quartermaster of the Army permitted traffickers to enter our factories as masters in order to take away our tools and machinery. The requisition or seizure of raw materials and finished products was not slow to follow.

Even then your Excellency began to receive protests from us. They announced with only too much accuracy the deplorable consequences that must flow from the fatal facts cited. Several of our leading men talked to you on the subject. You sought to calm their fears, to assure them that these were only exceptional cases, and that the injustices mentioned would be stopped.

We were forced to conclude, however, a little later, that wills superior to your own were carrying out other designs. It is not the revival of business, it is the economic annihilation of Belgium that we see accomplished without mercy. Industry, commerce, agriculture, are undergoing the same fate and sharing the same trials.

The continual carrying away of machines, of raw materials and products; the limitation and exhaustion of indispensable supplies; the obligation to revoke clauses and raise prices in contracts concluded, even before the war, with foreign customers; the imposition of export taxes, hitherto unknown in our country; the forbidding of exports, the order to aid in the execution of products manifestly intended for the use of the German Army; the sequestration of property—

these are the repeated blows with which we have been struck during the last two years, and under which we are languishing.

For a moment we hoped that the industrial revictualing of Belgium, like the alimentary revictualing, might be undertaken under the diplomatic control that is indispensable to prevent abuse. That control was rejected and our hope deceived.

How could establishments that were paralyzed, robbed, starved, keep all their employees busy? Unemployment was bound to come in spite of all that was attempted to retard its appearance. Your Excellency has had the proofs of this. Private charity, aided by us, has not hesitated at any sacrifice to improve the situation. It is not public money that has furnished aid to the families which could no longer support so many idle hands; it is special organizations devoted to the feeding of the needy—it is they that have got together the resources for this new service.

Certain isolated facts have been seized upon to bring charges of habitual idleness against those who have been thus aided. Demands have been made for the lists in order to transform them, so to speak, into rolls of dishonor and proscription. When it is impossible to find work, is unemployment then a crime that calls for denunciation and is punishable with exile and slavery? Is not a workman, like any other man, the master of his person and of the hiring of his services? In the recent strikes of miners your administration itself had to announce that in its eyes no one had a right to use force to the injury of the liberty of labor.

But is the present question really one of checking unemployment? The notices plastered in so many places in the war zone by the military authorities no longer permit one to say or believe this. They compel us to understand that the purpose above all others is to furnish labor for German industries; they establish a radical difference between those who consent voluntarily to be seduced away and those who are torn by force from their firesides; they threaten the severest of inhuman punishments to those who refuse to aid by their labors the works of the enemy. And if there are industries that have thus far escaped this recruiting, it is certain that it is enforced against the others without distinction or consideration of age, of rank, of family, almost of aptitudes. The employed and unemployed alike are deported, and there are even cases, which we could cite, of idleness produced artificially. The end of all work will soon be the result—and the excuse for new deportations.

Public charity, which did not carry the burden from which it is pretended to be relieved, will soon have to furnish help to thousands of women, children, invalids, and old men, whom the removal of their natural support will have deprived of all means of livelihood.

Upon Belgium, so cruelly tried—where the collection and disbursement of taxes are subject to the authority of the occupying power, which exacts a crushing war contribution each month of 40,000,000 francs—upon Belgium is about to be placed the further burden of the support of more than three-quarters of the inhabitants, reduced to the most frightful misery.

Nothing can explain, still less justify, a treatment the sight of which modern Europe had a right to believe it would be forever spared.

The political attorneys of the nation, the highest judicial authorities, have, as was their duty, raised their voices to tell at what point the letter and spirit of our treaties, along with the most inalienable of natural rights, were transgressed.

Our own duty is to show that all economic life has become impossible in our country, and that the nation is going to be forced to breathe its last sigh. On this rich soil, where our laborers, industrious and proud, had so courageously contributed to the upbuilding of prosperity, there will be only desolated regions; here where peaceful communities are enduring with patience and dignity the occupation by foreign troops, there is being sown more and more in men's hearts hatred through suffering.

We cannot doubt that your Excellency must be called upon to share our griefs and fears, for there is not a single one of your words or promises that does not seem to be contradicted by events.

As for us, in placing this protest in your hands, in the name and behalf of the men whose employers and friends we are proud to be, as well as in defense of our enterprises, we shall have fulfilled the double duty imposed upon our conscience and dictated by our relations to society.

May the dreadful responsibility for the calamities that ceaselessly crush us fall upon those who are its authors!

Please accept, your Excellency, the expression of the respectful sentiments which are your due.

THE FEDERATION OF MANAGERS OF  
LARGE BELGIAN INDUSTRIES.  
To His Excellency Baron von Bissing,  
Governor General of Belgium.



## Appeal of Belgian Workingmen to American Workingmen

AN appeal of 500,000 Belgian workingmen to their fellow-laborers in the United States was published in this country early in January. Its authenticity is attested by M. Hymans, the Belgian Minister to Great Britain, and by Emile Vandervelde, Minister without portfolio, and Henri Carton de Wiart, Belgian Minister of Justice. The day after the German authorities discovered that this appeal had been sent across the frontier into Holland they increased the monthly tribute levied on the Belgians from 40,000,000 to 50,000,000 francs. The translation follows:

In the name of the international solidarity of workers, the working class of Belgium, all threatened with slavery, deportation, and forced labor for the enemy's benefit, addresses to the working class of America a supreme appeal for assistance, energetic and efficacious. No more words of sympathy, but action. You are men, you understand us. Our situation is desperate.

Germany, as you know, attacked and terrorized Belgium in 1914, because the latter defended the rights of her neutrality—sworn faith and honor. Since then Germany has been torturing Belgium. She has made it a prison. The frontiers are armed against the Belgians like a battlefield—trenches, wires, barbed and electrified, and machine guns. All our constitutional liberties are abolished. No more security; the life of the citizens is subjected to arbitrary policing without limit, as well as without pity.

Germany imposed upon her victim an immense war contribution which has already passed the thousand million mark and is increasing at the rate of forty millions per month. She carried off and had transported to Germany, under the form of plunder, confiscation, requisition, and forced sales, more than five thousand million dollars' worth of food and merchandise, industrial and agricultural. At the same time she took and forwarded to Germany the greater part of the raw materials of our factories, machines, and accessories. She thus stopped our industry and brought on a want of work almost general among the working class. For two years the Germans have been keeping up this plaint of want of work until the day—in October, 1916—when Germany, needing hands, could draw upon Belgium for the workmen for whom she had such pressing need.

Yes, the Germans created the Belgian want of work and kept it up to benefit themselves.

By refusing England, who consented to introduce new raw materials, the indispensable diplomatic control to prevent the manufactured goods being taken by the Germans.

By preventing by means of terrible edicts the Belgian communes, associations, and private Belgians from giving work to the unemployed, from attending to their professional education, and from employing them in work of public utility.

Thus five hundred thousand workmen were reduced to a state of unemployment and kept in that state.

Contrary to the reports that the Germans spread in foreign countries, these unemployed and their families are not dependent on public budgets, nor on public charity. They were and are supported in all dignity and fraternity, by a private fund, exclusively Belgian, which never complains of its duty, or its mission. The solidarity of the Belgian social classes assures the life of this magnificent work, which is without precedent in the history of the social "entr'aide."

To these 500,000 involuntary unemployed, made so by the Germans and kept so by them, they have been saying for a month:

"You will either sign a contract to work for Germany or you will be reduced to slavery." In either case it means exile, deportation, forced labor for the benefit of the enemy and against our country, dreadful punishments, the cruelest that tyranny ever invented to punish crimes. And what crimes? Involuntary unemployment that the tyrant himself brought about and keeps up.

And as, in spite of the most odious sort of pressure, the Germans have not been able to obtain the signatures—which they dare call voluntary in their official communiqués for neutral countries—they seize by force our workmen, your brothers and ours; they arrest them by thousands each day; they tear them from their wives and their children; surrounded by bayonets they drag them to the cattle trains and carry them off to foreign lands, to France and to Germany.

### Forced to Labor on Military Works

On the western front they are forced by the most brutal methods to dig trenches, to prepare military aviation fields, to make strategic routes, to fortify the German lines. And when the victims refuse in spite of everything to do this work forbidden by the law of nations, they ill-treat them, they strike them, they make them ill, they wound them, and sometimes even kill them.

In Germany they throw them into the mines, the quarries, the limekilns, no matter what their age, profession, or trade. They deport pêle-mêle young men of 17 years of age and old men of 60 years and over. Is this not slavery of olden times in its horror?

There have been already more than fifty thousand workmen, unemployed or not, who have been thus deported, prisoners or slaves. Each day a new region is raided. They use a dreadful apparatus — machine guns and innumerable soldiers, and the lugubrious military operation against all these poor unarmed people, terrorized, but conscious of their violated rights.

Do not forget that the soldiers who make themselves the executioners of the Belgian workers are German workmen. And thus 500,000—maybe 800,000—men will be deported, if you do not prevent it. After the men, the women's turn will come, no doubt; again 500,000. \* \* \*

It is the entire working class of Belgium which is threatened with slavery, with starvation, with death.

Do you know, American brothers, what the Germans throw as "salary" to their victims? Thirty pfennigs (about 7 cents) per working day! And the food! \* \* \* what food! \* \* \* The Belgian civil prisoners who come back from Germany after three months of detention have lost one-third of their weight; they are unrecognizable, anaemic, sick; many of them never regain their health; they languish and die. If this is the lot of the prisoners who do nothing, what lamentable lot is in store for the Belgian workmen deported and subjected to the most painful sort of labor?

In a few months our working class, the pride of our free country, will be annihilated in its working force. The day that peace comes there will be no longer any Belgian workmen capable of taking up the great work of the economic reconstruction of that which was prosperous Belgium, whose only crime was to defend without weakness the rights of neutrals to life and to honor.

#### *Vain Appeals to German Pledges*

We did everything that this supreme cross of slavery might be spared us.

Our highest social authorities showed the occupying power the supreme injustices and all the iniquity of these measures. The highest Court of Appeal in Belgium asked it to withdraw its edicts because they were contrary to "natural law, to positive law, to the law of nations."

The Belgian Episcopate, with the eminent Cardinal Mercier at its head, asked it to withdraw its edicts because they were contrary to morals and to its word of honor given. Yes; to its word of honor solemnly given in 1914 by the first Governor General of Belgium, Field Marshal von der Goltz, who proclaimed: "Never will the young men be taken to Germany, either to be mustered into the army or to be employed in forced labor." It was because they believed this word of honor of the direct representative of the German Emperor that the Belgian workmen came back from Holland after the siege of Antwerp, and that the others remained. This is why the Germans can take them now to

deport them and reduce them to slavery. American brothers, will you suffer it?

Our political representatives asked them to withdraw their edicts, because for a Belgian to work for the Germans at this time means to fight Belgium. Does not the presence of each Belgian workman in Germany permit another German soldier to be sent to the front?

Our chiefs of industries asked the withdrawal of the edicts because thus "all economic life in our country will become impossible and it will be made to draw its last breath."

The workmen, Socialists and Catholics, men and women, united in one thought of solidarity and one anguish, asked the withdrawal of the cruel edicts because they were contrary to rights, to the word of honor given, to civilization, to patriotism and to the dignity of the working class.

All remained in vain. Germany, who has an extreme need of strong arms, did not want to withdraw the application of the edicts for a day nor for an hour. In answer she only sent more soldiers and more machine guns. Now the Belgian working class looks to the neutral powers.

She wonders if this time, in face of this crime of lèse-humanité, their conscience in revolt will not inspire at last the energetic gesture which suits the occasion. To allow such an abominable deed to be committed—is it not taking part in it?

The working class of Belgium wonders with anguish if neutral countries this time again will wash their hands, like Pontius Pilate, under pretext that the German calumnies do not correspond to the complaints of their victims.

Belgium, martyr for right, wishes no more verbal contestations nor platonic sympathies. She wants actions.

Will the neutrals and their directing classes let them act in this way? Will they allow them to carry back civilization to the barbarous ages when the conqueror carried the vanquished people into slavery? Will they allow the working class of a civilized nation to be annihilated?

#### *"Be You Our Friends and Saviors"*

Americans! If the others act in this way, if the world must witness again such a spectacle of cowardice, be you at least our friends and our saviors.

We will never forget that it is thanks to the United States that Belgium is not dead of hunger. We hope that, thanks to the United States of America, Belgium's working class will not be reduced to slavery worse than death.

American workmen! We do not doubt you; our cause is yours. It seems to us that if we do not tell you of the attempt which threatens us, you will reproach us some day, saying: "You had not the right to keep quiet and to suffer martyrdom in silence;

you are a depository for your part of the honor of the workmen's condition. If a nation of civilized workers is reduced somewhere to servitude, all the working class is threatened. It is a terrible precedent. We workmen of free America would not have allowed a similar threat to be made. It is from slavery that the modern working class came; it cannot return to slavery!"

American brothers! We seem to hear these prophetic words of our salvation. You are numerous. You are powerful. You are energetic. You are an enormous force in the most powerful of the neutral States, the one even that imposed moderation upon the submarine war.

You alone in the world can help us efficaciously. You alone in the world can prevent an abominable crime against the working class, against yours! You alone in the world can prevent all the working class from falling into a state of slavery.

American workmen! From the bottom of our distress we look to you. Act!

As to ourselves, even if force succeeds for a time in reducing our bodies to servitude, our souls will never consent to it.

We add this: No matter what the tortures may be, we only want peace with independence of our country and the triumph of justice. THE BELGIAN WORKMEN.

Nov. 19, 1916.

## Dates of Declarations of War

Following is a list of all the formal declarations of war in the present conflict, with their dates; also the dates of the more important cases in which hostilities began without formal notice. Official announcements of a state of war, as in the case of Russia and Bulgaria, are treated as equivalent to formal declarations of war:

### 1914

- July 28—Austria v. Serbia.
- Aug. 1—Germany v. Russia.
- Aug. 3—Germany v. France.
- Aug. 4—Germany v. Belgium.
- Aug. 4—\*France v. Germany.
- Aug. 4—Great Britain v. Germany.
- Aug. 6—Austria v. Russia.
- Aug. 7—Montenegro v. Austria.
- Aug. 10—France v. Austria.
- Aug. 10—Austria v. France.
- Aug. 12—Great Britain v. Austria.
- Aug. 12—Montenegro v. Germany.
- Aug. 23—Japan v. Germany.
- Aug. 25—Austria v. Japan.
- Aug. 28—Austria v. Belgium.
- Oct. 29—\*Turkey v. Russia.
- Nov. 2—Russia v. Turkey.
- Nov. 5—Great Britain v. Turkey.
- Nov. 5—France v. Turkey.
- Nov. 7—Belgium v. Turkey.
- Nov. 7—Serbia v. Turkey.
- Nov. 10—Montenegro v. Turkey.

### 1915

- May 23—Italy v. Austria.
- June 3—San Marino v. Austria.
- Aug. 20—Italy v. Turkey.
- Oct. 7—Russia v. Bulgaria.
- Oct. 14—Bulgaria v. Serbia.
- Oct. 14—Great Britain v. Bulgaria.
- Oct. 16—Bulgaria v. Russia.
- Oct. 16—France v. Bulgaria.
- Oct. 18—Italy v. Bulgaria.
- Oct. 18—Montenegro v. Bulgaria.

### 1916

- Mar. 9—Germany v. Portugal.
- Mar. 10—Portugal v. Germany.
- Mar. 16—\*Austria v. Portugal.
- Aug. 28—Italy v. Germany.
- Aug. 28—Rumania v. Austria.
- Aug. 28—Germany v. Rumania.
- Aug. 30—†Rumania v. Bulgaria.
- Aug. 31—Turkey v. Rumania.
- Sept. 1—Bulgaria v. Rumania.

\*Began hostilities without formal declaration.

†Ultimatum.

# Great Land Ironclads and Victory

By H. G. Wells

*Author of "Mr. Britling Sees It Through"*

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THE young of even the most horrible beasts have something piquant and engaging about them, and so I suppose it is in the way of things that the land ironclad, which opens a new and more dreadful and destructive phase in the human folly of warfare, should appear first as if it were a joke. Never has any such thing so completely masked its wickedness under an appearance of genial silliness. The "tank" is a creature to which one naturally flings a pet name; the five or six I was shown, wandering, rooting, and climbing over obstacles round a large field near X., were as amusing, as disarming, as a litter of lively young pigs.

The War Office, after a period of reluctance, has suddenly permitted a lavish publication of photographs and descriptions of these things, so that their general appearance is now familiar to every one.

They are like large slugs, with an underside a little like the flattened rockers of a rocking horse, slugs between twenty and forty feet long. They are like flat-sided slugs, slugs of spirit, who raise an inquiring snout, like the snout of a dogfish, into the air. They crawl upon their bellies in a way that would be tedious to describe to the general reader and unnecessary to describe to the inquiring specialist. They go over the ground with the sliding speed of active snails.

Behind them trail two wheels, supporting a flimsy tail, wheels that strike one

as incongruous, as if a monster began kangaroo and ended doll's perambulator. (These wheels annoy me.) They are not steely monsters; they are painted the drab and unassuming colors that are fashionable in modern warfare, so that the armor seems rather like the integument of a rhinoceros. At the sides of the head project armored cheeks, and from above these stick out guns that look like stalked eyes. That is the general appearance of the contemporary "tank."

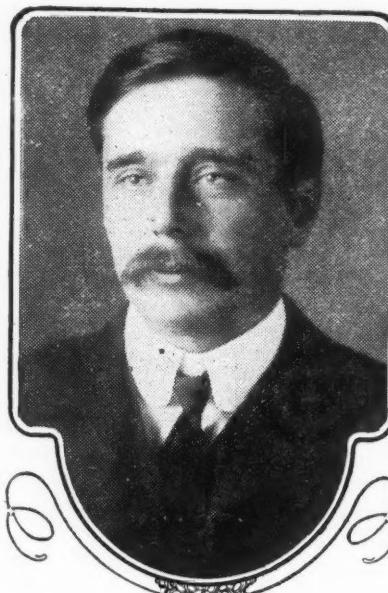
"You will smash your hat," said Colonel Stern. "No, keep it on, or else you will smash your head."

Only Mr. C. R. W. Nevinson could do justice to the interior of a "tank." You see a hand gripping something; you see the eyes and forehead of an engineer's face; you

perceive that an overall bluishness beyond the engine is the back of another man.

"Don't hold that," says some one. "It is too hot. Hold on to that." The engines roar, so loudly that I doubt whether one could hear guns without; the floor begins to slope and slopes until one seems to be at forty-five degrees or thereabouts; then the whole concern swings up and sways and slants the other way.

You have crossed a bank. You heel sideways. Through the door which has been left open you see the little group of engineers, staff officers and naval men receding and falling away behind you. You straighten up and go up hill.



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You halt and begin to rotate. Through the open door the green field with its red walls, rows of work sheds and forests of chimneys in the background, begins a steady processional movement. The group of engineers and officers and naval men appears at the other side of the door, and further off. Then comes a sprint down hill.

It slides on the ground; the silly little wheels that so detract from the genial bestiality of its appearance dandle and bump behind it. It swings round about its axis. It comes to an obstacle, a low wall, let us say, or a heap of bricks, and sets to work to climb with its snout. It rears over the obstacle, it raises its straining belly, it overhangs more and more, and at last topples forward; it sways upon the heap, and then goes plunging downward, sticking out the weak counterpoise of its wheeled tail.

If it comes to a house or a tree or a wall or such like obstruction it rams against it so as to bring all its weight to bear upon it—it weighs "some" tons—and then climbs over the débris. I saw it, and incredulous soldiers of experience watched it at the same time, cross trenches and wallow amazingly through muddy exaggerations of shell holes. Then I repeated the tour inside.

Again, the "tank" is like the slug. The slug, as every biological student knows, is unexpectedly complicated inside. The "tank" is as crowded with inward parts as a battleship. It is filled with engines, guns, and ammunition, and, in the interstices, men.

You descend and stretch your legs.

About the field other "tanks" are doing their stunts. One is struggling in an apoplectic way in the mud pit with a cheek half buried. It noses its way out and on with an air of animal relief.

They are like jokes by Heath Robinson. One forgets that these things have already saved the lives of many hundreds of our soldiers and smashed and defeated thousands of Germans.

Said one soldier to me: "In the old attacks you used to see the British dead lying outside the machine gun emplacements like birds outside a butt with a good shot inside. Now, these things walk through."

I saw other things that day at X. The "tank" is only a beginning in a new phase of warfare. Of these other things I may only write in the most general terms.

#### *Greater "Tanks" to Come*

I realized as I walked through gigantic forges as high and marvelous as cathedrals, and from workshed to workshed where gun carriages, ammunition carts and a hundred such things were flowing into existence with the swelling abundance of a river that flows out of a gorge, that as the demand for the new developments grows clear and strong, the resources of Britain are capable still of a tremendous response. *If only we do not rob these great factories and works of their men.*

Upon this question I would like to say certain things very plainly. *The decisive factor in the sort of war we are now waging is the production and right use of mechanical material;* victory in this war depends now upon three things—the aeroplane, the gun, and the "tank" developments. These—and not crowds of men—are the prime necessity for a successful offensive.

Every man we draw from munition making to the ranks brings our western condition nearer to the military condition of Russia. In these things we may be easily misled by military "experts." We have to remember that the military "expert" is a man who learned his business before 1914, and that the business of war has been absolutely revolutionized since 1914. The military expert is a man trained to think of war as essentially an affair of cavalry, infantry in formation, and field guns, whereas cavalry is entirely obsolete, infantry no longer fights in formation, and the methods of gunnery have entirely changed.

The military man, I observe, still runs about the world in spurs; he travels in trains in spurs, he walks in spurs; he thinks in terms of spurs. He has still to discover that it is about as ridiculous for a soldier to go about in spurs today as if he were to carry a crossbow. I take it these spurs are only the outward and visible sign of an inward obsolescence.

### Machinery and Victory

The disposition of the military expert is still to think too little of machinery and to demand too much of men. He makes irrational demands for men and for the wrong sort of men. Behind our front at the present time there are, for example, many thousands of cavalrymen tending horses, men engaged in transporting bulky fodder for horses, and the like.

These men are doing about as much in this war as if they were at Timbuctoo. Every man who is taken from munition making at X. to spur worshipping in khaki is a dead loss to the military efficiency of the country. Every man that is needed or is likely to be needed for the actual operations of modern warfare can be got by combing out the cavalry, the brewing and distilling industries, the theatres and music halls, and the like unproductive occupations. The understaffing of munition works, the diminution of their efficiency by the use of aged and female labor, is the straight course to failure in this war.

In X. in the forges and machine shops I saw already too large a proportion of boys and gray heads.

War is a thing that changes very rapidly, and we have in the "tanks" only the first of a great series of offensive developments. They are bound to be improved at a great pace. The method of using them will change very rapidly. Any added invention will necessitate the scrapping of old types and the production of the new patterns in quantity.

It is of supreme necessity to the Allies, if they are to win this war outright, that the lead in inventions and enterprise which the British have won over the Germans in the matter should be retained. It is our game now to press the advantage for all it is worth. We have to keep ahead to win. We cannot do so unless we have unstinted men and unstinted material to produce each new development as its use is realized.

Given that much, the "tank" will enormously enhance the advantage of the new offensive method on the French front—the method, that is, of gun demoli-

tion after aerial photography, followed by an advance. It is a huge addition to our prospect of decisive victory.

What does it do? It solves two problems. The existing "tank" affords a means of advancing against machine gun fire and of destroying wire and machine guns without much risk of loss, so soon as the big guns have done their duty by the enemy guns. And also behind the "tank" itself, it is useless to conceal, lies the possibility of bringing up big guns and big gun ammunition, across nearly any sort of country, as fast as the advance can press forward. Hitherto every advance has paid a heavy toll to the machine gun, and every advance has had to halt after a couple of miles or so while the big guns (taking five or six days for the job) toiled up to the new positions.

It is impossible to restrain a note of sharp urgency from what one has to say about these developments. The "tanks"—if we keep ahead with them—remove the last technical difficulties in our way to decisive victory and a permanent peace; they also afford a reason for straining every nerve to bring about a decision and peace soon.

### Big Land Ironclads

At the risk of seeming an imaginative alarmist, I would like to point out the reasons these things disclose for hurrying this war to a decision and doing our utmost to arrange the world's affairs so as to make another war improbable. Already these serio-comic "tanks," weighing many tons, have gone slithering and sliding over dead and wounded men. That is not an incident for sensitive minds to dwell upon, but it is a mere little child's play anticipation of what the big land ironclads *that are bound to come if there is no world pacification*, are going to do.

What lies behind the "tank" depends upon this fact: there is no definite upward limit of mass. Upon that I would lay all the stress possible, because everything turns upon that.

You cannot make a land ironclad so big and heavy that you cannot make a caterpillar track wide enough and strong enough to carry it forward. "Tanks" are quite possible that will carry twenty-inch or twenty-five-inch

guns, besides minor armament. Such "tanks" may be undesirable; the production may exceed the industrial resources of any empire to produce; but there is no inherent impossibility in such things. There are not even the same limitations as to draft and docking accommodation that set bounds to the size of battleships.

It follows, therefore, as a necessary deduction that if the world's affairs are so left at the end of the war that the race of armaments continues, the "tank," which at present weighs under twenty tons, will develop steadily into a tremendous instrument of warfare, driven by engines of scores of thousands of horse power, tracking on a track scores or hundreds of yards wide, and weighing hundreds of thousands of tons. Nothing but a world agreement not to do so can prevent this logical development of the land ironclad idea. Such a structure will make wheel-ruts scores of feet deep; it will plow up, devastate and destroy the country it passes over altogether.

For my own part, I never imagined the land ironclad idea would get loose into war. I thought that the military intelligence was essentially unimaginative and that such an aggressive military power as Germany, dominated by military people, would never produce anything of the sort. I thought that this war would be fought out without "tanks" and that then war would come to an end. For of course it is mere stupidity that makes people doubt the ultimate ending of war.

I have been so far justified in these expectations of mine, that it is not from military sources that these things have come. They have been thrust upon the soldiers from without. But now that they are loose, now that they are in war, we have to face their full possibilities, to use our advantage in them and press on to the end of the war.

#### *An Invincible Offensive*

In support of a photo-aero directed artillery, even our present "tanks" can be used to complete an invincible offensive. We shall not so much push as ram. It is doubtful if the Germans can get anything of the sort into action be-

fore the Spring. We ought to get the war on to German soil before the "tanks" have grown to more than three or four times their present size. Then it will not matter so much how much bigger they grow. It will be the German landscape that will suffer.

Of course, if we comb out our colliers and munition workers, it will take much longer, and the big ones will come from the German side. That is the elementary common sense of the case.

After one has seen the actual "tanks," it is not very difficult to close one's eyes and figure the sort of "tank" that—given the assent of our military leaders—may be arguing with Germany in a few months' time about the restoration of Belgium and Serbia and France, the restoration of the sunken tonnage, the penalties of the various Zeppelin and submarine murders, the freedom of the seas and land alike from piracy, the evacuation and reunion of Poland, and the guarantee for the future peace of Europe.

The machine will be, perhaps, as big as a destroyer and more heavily armed and equipped. It will swim over and through the soil at a pace of ten or twelve miles an hour. In front of it will be corn land, neat woods, orchards, pasture, gardens, villages, and towns. It will advance upon its belly with a swaying motion, devouring the ground beneath it. Behind it masses of soil and rock, lumps of turf, splintered wood, bits of houses, occasional streaks of red, will drop from its track, and it will leave a wake, six or seven times as wide as a high road, from which all soil, all cultivation, all semblance to cultivated or cultivatable land will have disappeared.

It will not even be a track of soil. It will be a track of subsoil laid bare. It will be a flayed strip of nature. In the course of its fighting the monster may have to turn about. It will then halt and spin slowly around, grinding out an arena of desolation with a circumference equal to its length. If it has to retreat and advance again, these streaks and holes of destruction will increase and multiply. Behind the fighting line these monsters will manoeuvre to and fro, destroying

the land, for all ordinary agricultural purposes, for ages to come.

The first imaginative account of the land ironclad that was ever written concluded with the words, "They are the *reductio ad absurdum* of war." They are, and it is to the engineers, the iron-masters, the workers, and the inventive talent of Great Britain and France that we must look to insure that it is in Germany, the great modern war propagandist, that this demonstration of war's ultimate absurdity is completed.

#### *Modern Frankenstein Monster*

For forty years Frankenstein Germany invoked war, turned every development of material and social science to aggressive ends, and at last, when she felt the time was ripe, she let loose the new monster that she had made of war to cow the spirit of mankind. She set the thing trampling through Belgium. She cannot grumble if at last it comes home, stranger and more dreadful even than she made it, trampling the German towns and fields, with German blood upon it, and its eyes toward Berlin.

This logical development of the "tank" idea may seem a gloomy prospect for mankind. But it is open to question whether the tremendous development of warfare that has gone on in the last two years does after all open a prospect of unmitigated gloom. There has been a good deal of cheap and despondent sneering recently at the phrase, "The war that will end war."

It is still possible to maintain that that may be a correct description of this war. It has to be remembered that war, as the aeroplane and the "tank" have made it, has already become an impossible luxury for any barbaric or uncivilized people. War on the scale that has been achieved on the Somme predicates an immense industrialism behind it.

Of all the States in the world, only four can certainly be said to be fully capable of sustaining war at the level to which it has now been brought upon the western front. These are Britain, France, Germany, and the United States

of America. Less certainly equal to the effort are Italy, Japan, Russia, and Austria.

These eight powers are the only powers in the world capable of warfare under modern conditions. Five are already allies and one is incurably pacific. There is no other power or people in the world that can go to war now without the consent and connivance of these great powers.

If we consider their alliances, we may count it that the matter rests now between two groups of allies and one neutral power. So that while, on the one hand, the development of modern warfare, of which the "tank" is the present symbol, opens a prospect of limitless, senseless destruction; it opens on the other hand a prospect of an organized world control of war.

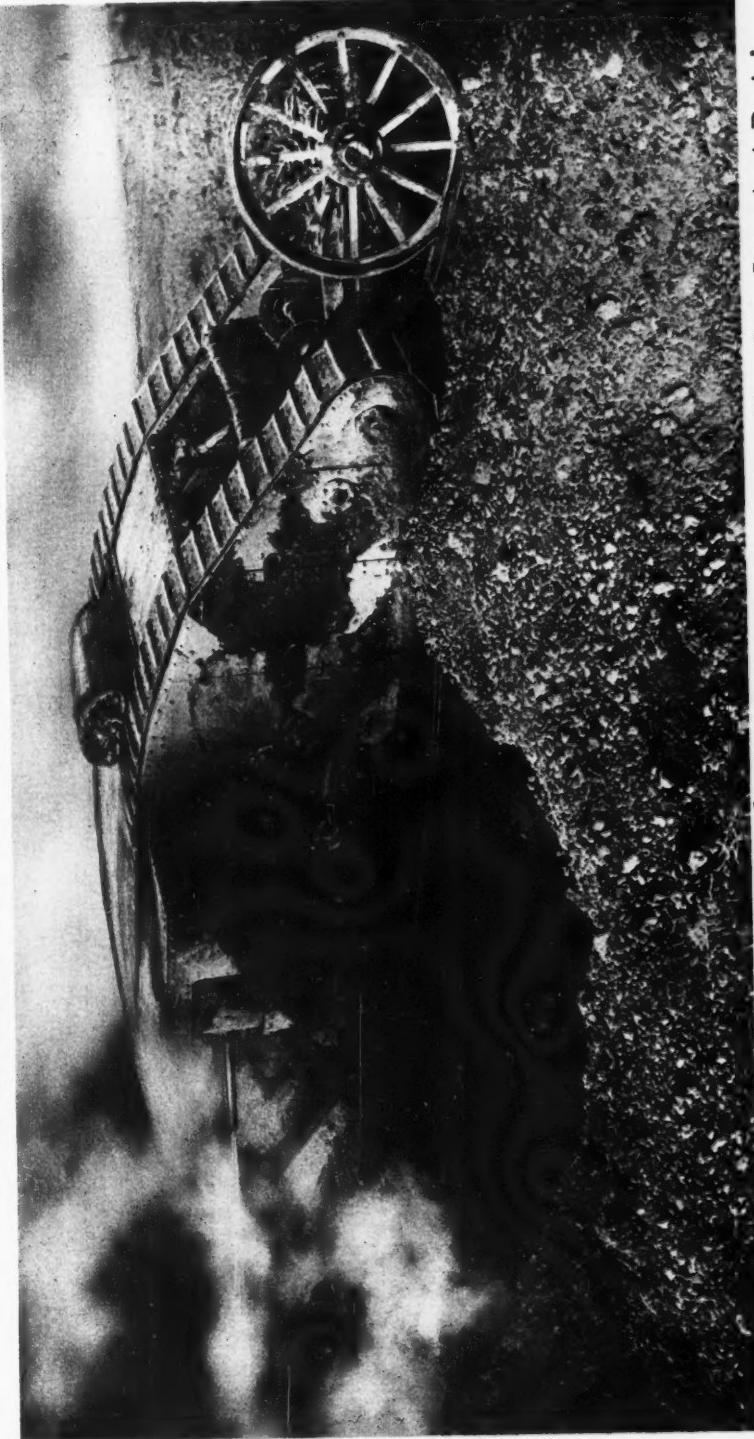
This "tank" development must ultimately bring the need of a real permanent settlement within the compass of the meanest of diplomatic intelligences. A peace that will restore competitive armaments has now become an almost less desirable prospect for every one than a continuation of the war.

Things were bad enough before, when the land forces were still in a primitive phase of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, and when the only real race to develop monsters and destructors was for sea power. But the race for sea power before 1914 was mere child's play to the breeding of engineering monstrosities for land warfare that must now follow any indeterminate peace settlement.

I am no blind believer in the wisdom of mankind, but I cannot believe that men are so insenate and headstrong as to miss the plain omens of the present situation.

So that, after all, the cheerful amusement the sight of a "tank" causes may not be so very unreasonable. These things may be no more than one of these penetrating flashes of wit that will sometimes light up and dispel the contentions of an angry man. If they are not that, then they are the grimdest jest that ever set men grinning. Wait and see, if you do not believe me.

A BRITISH "TANK" CROSSING A SHELL HOLE



This New Type of Armored Car, Traveling on Caterpillar Tractors, Has Played an Important Part in the Somme Engagements, and Is Believed to be the Precursor of Great Land Dreadnaughts

(Photo from Underwood & Underwood.)

FUNERAL OF EMPEROR FRANCIS JOSEPH AT VIENNA



Emperor Charles I. and Empress Zita, with Their Little Daughter, Are Followed (left to right) by the King of Norway, the Crown Prince of Sweden, King Ludwig of Bavaria, the Crown Prince of Germany, and Czar Ferdinand of Bulgaria.

(Central News Photo Service.)

# Making Food for Hungry Guns

By Sir Arthur Conan Doyle

[By arrangement with The London Chronicle]

ONE of the miracles of present-day Britain is a place which we will call Moorside. Perhaps it is the most remarkable place in the world. Only a little more than a year ago, say September, 1915, it was a lonely peat bog fringing the sea, with a hinterland of desolate plain, over which the gulls swooped and screamed. Then the great hand of the Minister of Munitions was stretched out to this lonely and inhospitable waste, for it chanced to lie with good rail and water connections and not too remote from centres of coal and of iron. No money and no energy was spared, and half a dozen master hustlers took charge of the whole great scheme.

It is a story which is more characteristic of Western America than of sober British methods. The work went forward by day and by night. The place grew and grew, and still is growing. Already it measures nine good miles one way, with an average of one and a half the other. In the daytime there are at least 25,000 busy inhabitants. The greater part are the builders, who still extend the township. The smaller are the munition workers who will occupy it all when it is finished. But even now, in its partially finished state, its products are essential to the war and its output has entirely changed all the supply of the present and the expectations of the future. It is not yet fully manned—or should I say girdled?—but when it is, not less than 12,000 munition workers will be running the miles of factories which overlie the peat bog of last Summer.

And it is not jerry-built—that is the wonder of it. In the centre of the colony is a considerable nucleus of solid brick houses which should be good for a century or more. Here are the main offices, the telephone stations, the club for the staff, (club sprinters would describe the inmates better than club loungers in these strenuous parts,) the hospital, the

cinema theatre, a row of shops, and a cluster of residential houses. Radiating out from this centre are long lines of wooden erections to hold the workers, cottages for married couples, bungalows for groups of girls, and hostels, which hold as many as seventy in each. This central settlement is where the people live—north and south of it where they work.

The one end may be called the raw-material end, for all raw material needed is manufactured upon the spot. Here is a huge nitric acid plant. There, further to the right, is an even larger sulphuric acid installation. Some one—he must have been a chemist, and probably a German—has said that the civilization of a nation can be measured by the amount of sulphuric acid which it uses. Greece or Rome would come badly out of such a test, and I fear that for civilization prosperity, which may be its exact opposite, is to be read. But this place, the town on the peat bog, has, as a fact, about doubled the British output of this basic substance.

Hard by are the wide buildings where the raw cotton is stored, where the crude glycerine is refined, where the ether and alcohol are distilled, and where finally the perfect guncotton is completed. Thence by little trams it is conveyed over yonder to that rising ground, which is called Nitroglycerine Hill. You probably don't know it—certainly I did not—but glycerine cannot be pumped, and so to move it along the good old primitive force of gravity is summoned. Hence the Nitroglycerine Hill. There the nitro-glycerine on the one side and the gun-cotton on the other are kneaded together into a sort of devil's porridge, which is the next stage of manufacture. This, by the way, is where the danger comes in. The least generation of heat may cause an explosion. Those smiling khaki-clad girls who are swirling the stuff round in their hands would be blown to

atoms in an instant if certain very small changes occurred. The changes will not occur, and the girls will still smile and stir their devil's porridge, but it is a narrow margin here between life and death. It is only constant order and care which keep the frontier intact.

Look at these great leaden basins and pipes in which the stuff is handled. How is the leaden basin joined to the leaden pipe? Here is one of those queer little romances with which the history of industry abounds. Solder is impossible. The acids would dissolve it. Lead must be welded to lead. It is a rare and difficult trade, one that is handed down from father to son and held close in a narrow circle. A lead-burner is a man of power, a man to be approached with offerings and prayers when a job is to be done. His rarity and his exclusiveness were one of the difficulties which had to be met. He had to be induced to part with his mystery and teach it to others. But he proved to be a patriot like his fellows. Anyhow the thing was done, as these great leaden tanks with their welded pipes will show. The lead must be as smooth as silk, too, upon the inner side. You are dealing with touchy, ill-tempered stuff. The least friction and you will know it—you or your executors.

When I saw these enormous works and the evidences of lavish expenditure, I ventured to ask those in authority how the State was to get its money back when, in the dim and distant future, the new world would become ruined and disorganized by the war coming to an end. Was that old, patient peat bog, waiting so silently below, to finally engulf the millions of the taxpayer? The reply was reassuring. All that I had seen up to that point was a good asset and of permanent value. It was all concerned with stuff which the arts of peace could readily absorb.

But now we went to the further end, where this devil's porridge which we have traced is finally seasoned into the fit food for our hungry guns. How hungry those guns are our minds can hardly conceive. We can never beat Hindenburg until we have beaten Krupp, and that is what these laughing khaki-clad

girls of Moorside and elsewhere are going to do. Hats off to the women of Britain! Even all the exertions of the militants shall not in future prevent me from being an advocate for their vote, for those who have helped to save the State should be allowed to help to guide it.

To the further end did we go then, passing great power-houses and central controls upon the way (please don't forget, as you read, the year-old peat bog quivering underneath,) and there we saw pressing and kneading and stuff like brown sugar being squeezed into brown macaroni and finally dried into black liquorice sticks, which are cut up and blended, so as to get a standard strength. Here supervision is needed for a quaint cause. Girls have been known, out of love for Tommy, to put an extra pinch in the brew, with the result, of course, of entirely upsetting its ballistic qualities. We take it for granted that a gunner shooting at three miles can speedily range on a mere slit in the ground. I saw with my own eyes a house at 6,000 yards lifted off the face of the earth at the fourth round. When you see the girls blending the stuff, with the finest care, to get the absolute standard, you begin to understand what lies behind it.

So much for the actual manufacture. I have said nothing of a military guard of over 1,000 men, factory police, workmanlike women police, central bakeries, with 400 dozen loaves at a baking, central laundries, central kitchens with 8,000 rations going out at every meal, cashiers, who pay away £800 an hour in wages. And all this with the primeval ooze lying in stagnant pools around, the remains of the wilderness of September twelve months. Have I made out a case for my assertion that Moorside is one of the wonder spots of earth, as showing what man's brain and man's energy can effect? It is but one out of nearly forty which are working on similar tasks, but it is the newest, the largest, and the most remarkable.

And who did all this? The soldier gets his mention; why not these picked generals of industry behind the line? Those in authority we know; to them be all credit. But what about the men on the

spot, the men who dug into the peat bog, who sank the foundations, who raised the town, who ran the works, who organized the plant which in one item alone, that of ether, produces more in a month than all pre-war Britain in a year. Alas, that their names may not be mentioned! They come from all parts of the British Empire, but especially from oversea. The magic builder who guides the army of 15,000 workers is Mr. P., an Englishman. Beside him are a little band of enthusiasts upon explosives, drawn from all ends of the empire. At one meeting at Nitroglycerine Hill it chanced that every man present was a South African. There is "Q," an American by nationality, a South African in experience, a man with a drive like a steam piston. There is "G," also of South Africa; there is "B," of India; there is "L," of Australia, and there is Major C. on the military and Mr. H. on the financial side. These are some of the miracle workers of Moorside.

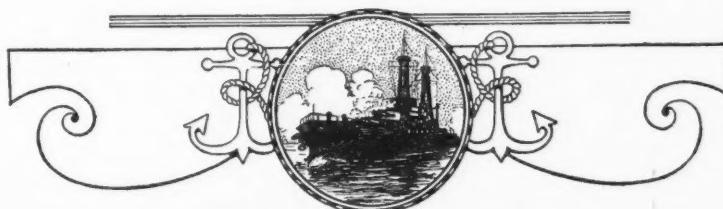
There are two hampering difficulties which will no doubt be overcome, like all else, but which have held matters back. They are drink and labor. As to the latter, the labor unions have acted in a way which calls for the acknowledgment and gratitude of the nation. What they had won during a long and weary fight they renounced for the sake of their country. It is among the great sacrifices of the war, and full faith should be kept with them afterward.

But the faulty national teaching of all these years cannot be eradicated in individuals. There is still a lurking feeling that patriotism is an affair of politics and a tendency to think of one's own ease and advantage rather than the country's need. "There are splendid fel-

lows among them, but on the whole the girls are more patriotic than the men." That was the conclusion of one who knew. Perhaps it is that a man's patriotism is a more silent emotion. Let us hope so.

And, lastly, there is the perennial question of the drink. There also the girls have an enormous advantage. There is not much drinking among the munition workers here. Their conditions are regular and comfortable. The drinking is rather among the great mass of outside workers, who are less under discipline and who live under less comfortable conditions, so that there is some excuse for their turning to the light and warmth and temporary exhilaration of the public house. It is true that the Board of Control stops the sale in the immediate district, but there are considerable towns a few miles away. I have always thought, and I still think, that if light wines and beers were permitted as a safety valve, the sale and even the manufacture of spirits could and should be forbidden. Such a change would be full payment for all that the war has cost us.

But there is no need to end this description on a critical note. After all, the work is done, this wonderful work, and it is not a drink-sodden or degenerate community which does such things. We have our difficulties. Drink is among them. But they affect a minority, and in very different degrees. Does any one suppose that Germany has not her own difficulties, very much heavier than ours? One comes away from Moorside marveling at the adaptability of the nation, at its power of improvisation, at its reserve of brain and energy, and at the promise which all these qualities give for our future place among mankind.



# The Moltke of 1870 and the War Plan That Failed

By Thomas G. Frothingham

It is a delusion to believe that a plan of war may be laid for a prolonged period.—Moltke, 1870.

THE idols broken in this great war have not yet been counted. From the European military point of view before 1914, could anything be more surprising than the present military situation, with chains of American Petersburgs strung over the European Continent? Conditions have upset theories, and the elaborated structure of modern military science has fallen.

After the Franco-German war of 1870 the world had been taught that the way to military efficiency was through a scientific General Staff. At the outbreak of this war, in 1914, the Germans had the most perfected General Staff in all history, and they unhesitatingly committed their cause to its guidance.

The "Kultur" organization of Germany, military, social, scientific, and commercial, at this time will be one of the marvels of history. The organization of its army was as efficient as can be imagined. Yet over this wonderful army was the controlling power of a General Staff that from its very perfection became the first failure of the war.

The German Great General Staff was theoretically the most efficient machine ever put together. All combinations of warfare had been analyzed, and a perverted Moltke cult had been carried to plus infinity. When the war broke out there was no suspicion in the German

mind that this machine was not the reincarnation of the Moltke strategy of 1870. With the Moltke of 1914 as its chief, the Great General Staff was believed to be infallible. Yet, strangely enough, the plans of the German Staff of 1914, while attempting to imitate the campaign of 1870, violated the fundamental precept laid down by the victorious Moltke of 1870:

It is a delusion to believe that a plan of war may be laid for a prolonged period and carried out in every point. The first collision with the enemy changes the situation entirely, according to the result.\*

What the Moltke of 1870 called a "delusion"—"a plan of war laid out for a prolonged period"—had become a part of the creed of the German Staff of 1914, because of the constant working out of war problems from one side of the board, with fixed conditions. Their campaigns had been reduced to a railroad

time-table basis. It was forgotten how suddenly and completely an accident will upset a railroad schedule.

To see how far this was from the real strategy of the war of 1870 one has only to study Moltke's account of the Franco-German war. The most impressive feature is the flexibility of his plans, and the ease with which he changed to meet new conditions\*\* with-

\*The Franco-German War of 1870-71.—Helmuth von Moltke.

\*\*The siege of Metz had formed no part of the original plan of campaign—and this necessitated a complete redistribution of the army.—Moltke, 1870.



GENERAL VON MOLTKE  
OF 1870

out confusion or delay in the effective use of his armies.

Moltke's account of his great campaign is as simple and direct as Caesar's Commentaries. "By whatever special means these plans were to be accomplished was left to the decision of the hour; *the advance to the frontiers alone was preordained in every detail.*"<sup>†</sup> "The orders for marching and traveling by rail or boat were worked out for each division of the army, together with the most minute directions as to their different starting points, the day and hour of departure, the duration of the journey, the refreshment stations, the place of destination. At the meeting place cantonments were assigned to each corps and division, stores and magazines were established, and thus, when war was declared, it needed only the royal signature to set the entire apparatus in motion with undisturbed precision. There was nothing to be changed in the directions originally given; it sufficed to carry out the plans prearranged and prepared." It will be observed that all this ended in the perfect mobilization at the frontiers. "The mobilized forces were divided into three independent armies on a basis worked out by the General of the Prussian Staff."

Yet in the minds of the German Staff of 1914 "plans prearranged and prepared" had been extended far beyond Moltke's mobilization at the frontier. It had become the fashion to think of campaigns and battles in the enemy's territories as mathematically calculated—and most of this had been done by taking the great Moltke's name in vain. A mapped out, dated schedule of a campaign had become the distorted version of Moltke's strategy. There is no authority for this in his own work.

How much truth there may be in the tales of the domination of this militaristic group over the Crown Prince, forcing the war on the Kaiser, &c., is a matter of conjecture. But there is no question

of the fact that the German Great General Staff was supremely confident of the result. It believed that the problem had been worked out in advance, and that a quick victory was a mathematical certainty.

The German mobilization of 1914 was as perfect as that of 1870, but the "pre-arranged" plan went beyond the frontier and there was a continuation of the schedule instead of the mobile armies of 1870.

The plan of war of 1914 was a repetition of the plan of 1870 directed against Paris,<sup>‡</sup> the capture of which would probably again have meant the winning of the war. But, beyond the frontiers, this plan was committed to a new "opening"—to borrow a term from chess.

The assault on France had been planned through Belgium, with a supporting army massed in Luxembourg. This had been plotted out for years in advance, and all their machinery of mobilization and invasion had been tied fast to this plan, with the object of avoiding the theoretical strength of the French frontier fortresses.

Such formal fortresses had recently been given a high artificial value in all European military calculations. The use of steel and concrete had again deluded the experts into the belief that defense had advanced beyond the assaults of artillery, and all over Europe were scattered "impregnable" fortresses. These fortresses were all great factors in the preconceived war game—and none was of any value in the actual test of war.

Here was the failure of the German Staff. The French frontier fortresses had been considered so strong that direct attack on them was thought out of the question, and the drive through Belgium was their solution.

The German Staff made two errors. They apparently did not realize that in their heavy howitzers they possessed a weapon that would make formal fort-

<sup>†</sup>But, above all, the plan of war was based on the resolve to attack the enemy at once, wherever found, and keep the German forces so compact that a superior force could always be brought into the field.—Moltke, 1870.

<sup>‡</sup>The plan of war—fixed from the first upon the enemy's capital, the possession of which is of more importance in France than in other countries.—Moltke, 1870.

resses of no value—and they failed to calculate on a delaying resistance from the Belgians. These two mistakes lost them the capture of Paris.

No serious opposition had been expected to the passage through Belgium. Instead of this, the Belgians made a stout resistance. The Belgian Army fought well in the field, and in the overconfident plans of the German Staff there was no provision for heavy artillery to reduce the Belgian fortresses. Guns were brought up after awhile, but there was a clogging of the perfect machinery—and there was a delay of weeks before the invasion of France.

Seldom has a delay been so costly. France was given time to mobilize; the united response of the French people was wonderful; and the German drive against Paris was beaten off.

This defeat of the plan of the German Staff was all the more bitter because of the failure to estimate the power of their new artillery. If, instead of the costly invasion of Belgium, a massed attack with these destructive howitzers had been made on the French fortresses, the Germans would have gone through them as if they had been made of paper. The destruction of all fortresses which have been bombarded by these guns has been the wonder of the war. Nothing has been able to resist them. Yet, although it is evident that the element of surprise is most valuable when an army has a new weapon, the surprise of their deadly assault was wasted on Belgian and outlying fortresses.

If this fearful force had been suddenly turned on the French frontier fortresses, which would have awaited the assault confident in their strength, there would have been a great disaster to the French. There would not have been time enough

for the use of American intrenching tactics to save their fortresses. But, after the object lesson in Belgium, all such formal fortresses on the western front were converted into American Petersburg intrenchments, the only defense against such guns.

Another error of the German Staff was the carefully argued conclusion that Russia could not mobilize and take the offensive for months. Instead of this, there was an invasion of East Prussia by the Russians that actually started an exodus of the inhabitants. This compelled the General Staff to send into East Prussia troops much needed at the critical stage of the campaign against Paris.

The withdrawals of troops did great harm to the plans of the German Staff, but the invasion, or rather raid, was decisively defeated—and this defeat brought into prominence the General who was destined

to do the greatest harm to the armies of the Allies, and also to dominate the German military situation.

Hindenburg had been out of favor, and was derisively called the "Old Man of the Lakes." Yet, when his favorite strategic field of the East Prussian Lakes was invaded, he was master of the situation. He won the first great German victory of the war at Tannenburg, and ended the Russian invasion. This victory made him the popular idol of Germany. His logical succession to the command in the east was followed by his terrific drive against the Russians in 1915, which made him the great figure of the war.

In the meantime things had gone badly with the German Staff. Moltke, the Chief of Staff, had been removed after the failure of the first great drive. His



GEN. H. J. L. VON MOLTKE  
Recent Chief of Staff  
© Am. Press Association

successor, Falkenhayn, has met the same fate after months of German disappointment at Verdun.

The call of the German Nation was insistent for Hindenburg, and he is now the military dictator of Germany—and the head of the Great General Staff. When one remembers the omniscience credited to the Great General Staff of 1914, a more unexpected result cannot be conceived.

Yet this result came from logical causes. The General Staff had given to the German Army an organization better than had ever been seen, but it had created a bureaucracy, with preconceived ideas and plans fixed upon given conditions through years of peace. They could not be adapted to new forces or unexpected events.

Hindenburg, who was supposed to be tied to his lakes, after proving them of great strategic value, showed himself the master of new forces and changed conditions. His supreme command means the surrender of bureaucrats developed in peace to a leader developed in war. It also means a return to the real tactics of the Moltke of 1870. The following is from an interview given out by Hindenburg:<sup>\*</sup>

One does a great injustice to an army commander by attributing to him a program. He certainly has in his head a plan of war, a general view of war, but there is no prepared program, except that one—to gain victory. Where and how that shall be done can only be decided each moment anew, on the basis of events. Therefore a decision can be looked for as well in the east as in the west.

Compare these words of Hindenburg with those quoted from Moltke, and it is evident at once how alike the two men are in thought. There is no question of the fact that the supreme command of Hindenburg, with the consequent change in the German Great General Staff, is a menace to the armies of the Entente Allies. The perfected organizing and administrative machinery of the General Staff of 1914 is unchanged, but the directing mind is this new Moltke.

Already the change in control of the German Staff has produced important

military results. Hindenburg's statement that he welcomed the entrance of Rumania into the war, because it would take the fighting out of trench warfare, has proved no empty threat. What he has accomplished in the Rumanian campaign is not yet fully appreciated.

Here was a new nation that entered the war because it was supposed that the Teutonic Allies were at the full stretch of their resources. Rumania had an army strong in numbers, with experience in the field, that had been prepared for a long time for just such a crisis. The Rumanians were confident that their sudden onslaught into Transylvania would wrest that province from Austria.

Instead of this, Hindenburg had made his preparations, and without any suspicion in the minds of his enemies, he had gathered two strong armies of Germans, Austrians, Turks, and Bulgarians to fall upon the Rumanian invaders of Transylvania and to invade Dobrudja.

Both attacks were made with the irresistible momentum that has characterized Hindenburg's "drives." The Rumanians were swept out of Transylvania, Dobrudja was overrun, and Hindenburg's tried Lieutenant, Mackensen, has relentlessly kept up the pressure on the Rumanians. He has defeated the Rumanian Army again and again, driven it from successive positions with great losses, captured Bucharest, and won control of the Danube for almost its entire length. The Teutonic Allies have gained valuable oil fields and quantities of supplies of all kinds.

Hindenburg has accomplished all this without weakening the other Teutonic fronts—at least the Entente Allies have not found any weak point. The new German commander has been able to wear down the Somme offensive on the western front without allowing it to interfere with the Rumanian campaign.

True to the spirit of the Moltke of 1870 Hindenburg had kept his mind open to a "decision in the east as well as in the west." With their obsession for the western front that came from preconceived plans, would his predecessors have been equal to this emergency? It seems impossible.

But the last trace of this defect in the

\*NEW YORK TIMES, Oct. 31, 1916.

German Great General Staff has evidently disappeared. With Hindenburg, the reincarnation of the Moltke of 1870 in absolute command, the Entente Allies will have to develop their full strength to contend with the Teutonic armies.

It should not be deduced from the above that there is any less value in a General Staff. On the contrary, a General Staff is the most essential part of an army—and there is no other road to co-ordinated organization and administration. But, after years of peace, too much confidence in the "war game" strategy of a General Staff is dangerous.

Shortly after a great war, as in 1870, when the German Staff had been evolved from warfare, the plans of a General Staff would be of value. This was not the case with Germany in 1914, because Germany had not been at war for a generation, and changed conditions in the last two or three years had upset all previous calculations.

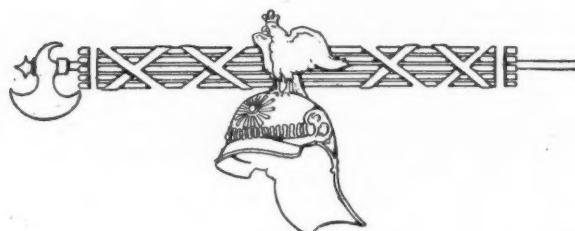
With our nation it would be the same story. This great war has proved that our civil war developed tactics far in advance of its times—which were destined to revolutionize warfare. Just after that war, although it was not recognized at the time, we were ahead of the rest of the world in military science, and we

could have safely trusted our defense to our veteran Generals. But that war was over fifty years ago, and we have lost all touch with modern warfare.

This is a great lesson of the war for us—and it confirms the lessons of all wars. An army or navy should have a modern General Staff, to give it the only possible organization by which it can be called to active service efficient in all departments, but a staff should never be controlled by men of preconceived ideas, or by any group of men who have formed the habit of thinking alike.

The war colleges of the army and navy, in our country, are free from this danger of forming a bureaucracy. At these colleges intelligent officers of every kind of different individuality are taught to analyze and arrive at conclusions from sound processes of thought. The great variety of minds among the many officers in the classes prevents any clique or cult from spoiling the work.

The effect of the war college courses in both services is very marked, and this will increase in benefit to the army and navy from year to year with the accumulated written analyses of so many different skilled officers. It is probable that among these officers will be found the future leaders of our army and navy.



# Wonders of War Surgery

[Written for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE]

**I**N every one of the belligerent countries there is now a new army, the army of maimed and crippled men.

So great is their number—they are to be counted by hundreds of thousands—and so serious is the loss to the efficiency of the respective nations that it is realized that nothing less than heroic measures can minimize the evil both to the community and to the individual sufferer.

While the war goes on the first consideration in dealing with the men who appear in the casualty lists under the heading of "wounded" is to get as many as possible fit again for the firing line. This exclusively military standpoint has had a tendency to leave the man incapacitated for further fighting to shift for himself or rely upon charity. The army authorities, finding that a wounded soldier could not be patched up, have lost interest in him, given him his discharge and a pension, and forgotten other national needs. It has, however, become increasingly evident that, while a man may have ceased to be of further military value, it would be disastrous to let him become a useless member of society, a source of expense to the State and a burden to himself.

A man may have lost a limb or his eyesight, and yet, given the opportunity, he may be fitted for some new useful occupation. Accordingly, in Germany and France, and to some extent in Great Britain, the foundations are being laid for a system of "re-education," that is, a system of vocational training that will enable wounded men to begin a new career of usefulness. In this way it is hoped to alleviate somewhat the horror of the human wreckage and reduce the waste of industrial man power.

One of the striking features of the war has been the rapid progress in surgery consequent upon the necessity of saving life and limb. Surgeons have performed operations that were hardly thought possible before the war. New

methods have been discovered, new appliances invented, and, indeed, an entirely new chapter has been written in the history of surgery. Soldiers, whose fighting days seemed at an end, have been remade and sent back to the front as fit and strong as when they first joined the colors.

In the old days, as any one who has read history knows, the practice was to amputate as a matter of course. Now every effort is made not to amputate, for surgery in its progress has become conservative in the best sense of the word. Thus, at the Herbert Hospital, Shooter's Hill, London, there have been between three and four thousand operations on wounded soldiers, but of these only about twenty-five have been primary amputations.

Extraordinary operations are being performed every day in cases of bone, muscle, and nerve fracture. The surgeons, discovering that the human body has greater powers of recuperation than they thought, do not hesitate to take a piece of bone from one part of a patient's anatomy and utilize it to repair another that has been destroyed or removed. At another military hospital in London there was, for example, a case of severe injury to the jaw. The surgeon removed a piece of bone about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches long from the tibia (the large shinbone) of the patient and fixed it in the jaw. The man's leg has healed up, and the jaw has improved so much that eating is now a far less painful process. In very many cases a broken bone is rejoined by a steel splint screwed to the bone just as a carpenter screws together two pieces of wood. The steel plate, which is sometimes an inch wide and four or five inches long, remains permanently in the wound, together with the steel screws, without pain or inconvenience. One of the surgeons who has performed many of these operations believes that in time the steel will become dissipated in the system and disappear altogether. As iron is one of

the constituents of the blood, the splint does not become a source of danger.

Wonderful successes have also been achieved with injured nerves. At the Hammersmith General Hospital, London, for example, six useless muscles were taken from one side of a patient's wrist and transferred to the other, with the result that the hand, previously paralyzed, could once more be used. In another case the surgeon found four inches of a nerve in the arm gone. He telephoned round to the other London hospitals to inquire whether an amputation was in prospect and learned that a man was to have a leg off that afternoon. He asked that the severed limb should be put at once in a saline bath and brought to him in a taxicab. The patient was already under an anaesthetic when the leg, still blood-warm, arrived. The surgeon promptly transferred four inches of nerve from the amputated leg to the arm of the patient with a perfectly successful result.

But perhaps the most wonderful surgical triumph was that in the case of a man with a shrapnel wound. A piece of metal, about the size of a twenty-five-cent piece and much thicker, had entered the breast and lodged in the region of the heart. It was actually touching the heart and impeding its action. When the opening was made the surgeon thrust his hand right in and pulled out the piece of metal. The soldier made a complete recovery. The triumphs of British, French, and German practitioners would fill volumes.

The bacteriologist has also played an important part in the war. In the earlier period of the war tetanus was playing havoc among the troops, and great work was done in combating its ravages by the famous French physician, Doyen, since dead. More recently an important discovery has been made by Miss Mary Davies, bacteriologist for the Robert Walton Goelet Research Fund, as the result of experiments at a hospital in France. One of the chief causes of infection has been pieces of uniform shot into the body. Miss Davies, who had already gained distinction by inoculating herself with gangrene bacilli to prove the efficacy of Taylor's specific, set to work

to discover how soldiers' uniforms could be rendered aseptic. She finally devised a treatment based upon a combination of cresol and soft soap with which the clothing is to be periodically impregnated.

Mr. Lloyd George, then War Minister in England, on receiving Miss Davies's report, ordered that the British soldiers' clothes should be sterilized with her preparation. In addition to its value in reducing the proportion of highly septic wounds the preparation is also welcome as a destroyer of body lice, one of the greatest discomforts of life in the trenches.

Military considerations have, of course, been so far uppermost in the treatment of wounded men; but it is recognized that steps must be taken to prepare the maimed, crippled, and invalidated as effectively as possible for civil life after the war. Germany has in this respect taken the lead. There sixty schools are already in existence for the purpose of training men in new occupations. France has also made a vigorous beginning in the matter of "rééducation des mutilés." M. Millerand took the initiative while Minister of War. As a result of the movement then begun, the Ministries of the Interior, of Commerce, and of Agriculture have since joined hands to create a system of training the "mutilated" for new occupations.

At first there was naturally some confusion of method. Men who had lost legs or feet were placed in the same institutions as those who had lost arms or hands, when obviously two such distinct classes of wounded men needed different courses of training. But these early mistakes have been corrected, and the French Government, beginning with the great school established at Bordeaux, has evolved a system which will ultimately classify the "mutilated" according to the limbs or organs they have lost and find appropriate occupations for the different groups. Legless men who can use their hands will learn different crafts from those who are armless, and so on.

Great Britain has moved more slowly than France or Germany in the task of re-educating her mutilated men. Nevertheless a start has been made, in one

instance more through the spontaneous desire of the wounded soldiers to have something to do to pass the time than because of any carefully thought-out plan. At the Military Orthopedic Hospital, Shepherd's Bush, London, a proportion of the 800 inmates have been set to work at a variety of occupations. Workshops have been built, as well as a gymnasium. In one of the shops a number of men are now making surgical boots, and have developed so much skill that their work is as good as that of the lifelong craftsman, while the hospital is getting the articles it requires at practically cost price. Other wounded men are making aluminium splints, steel supports, and leather bandages for their comrades.

One of the most pathetic, and yet curious, sights is to see two men who have each lost a hand combining to do the work of one man. You will see, for example, in the blacksmith's shop attached to the hospital a one-handed soldier pumping the bellows till the steel is red hot. Then he takes it out of the fire and places it on an anvil, where he holds it in position while another one-handed man hammers it into shape. In the carpenter's shop you will see similar teamwork by a couple of men engaged on a skillful piece of joinery for hospital use, one man holding the nail while the other does the hammering. Men who have lost the right arm or hand learn to put the left to new uses, and it is amazing how resourceful a man with only one hand can become.

The British Government, however, is slow in developing a national system of re-education for the disabled, for in this, as in most things, the British way is not to plan beforehand or with much logic, but to improvise and build up as one goes along. John Galsworthy, however, has foreseen the danger that must inevitably arise if the treatment of the wounded and disabled is to be dealt with from the military point of view of salvaging manhood merely for a new lease of life in the trenches.

"If it remains simply an army problem," he has declared, "our towns and countrysides, when the war is over, will be plastered for the next twenty or thirty

years with well-nigh useless men. To retain control of the patient, so that his treatment may be coherent and sustained, seems to be of the very essence of what can be done for the future of most of these men. Vital it is that the most huge calamity of this war shall be divested of every consequence which foresight and ingenuity can strip away. Not all discharged men, of course, will need refitting for civil life—there are some whom refitting cannot serve; but for the great majority it is essential. The disablement is so various; eighteen categories exist. Think what that means in the diversity of treatment required. Every man who is discharged without being first remade so far as possible goes back to civil life half beaten. The half-beaten man is soon done for altogether, and becomes a ghost to haunt us all."

But these ghosts are already haunting the people. In every town, in every little village, the belligerent countries swarm with the cripples and invalids, the wreckage of the war; and so it will be for a generation to come. It is that which makes the thought of living in those countries after the war a thing of horror. Already in England some of these men who have escaped with their lives but not with bodies intact are being driven to eke out their scanty pensions by such disguised forms of begging as soliciting pennies with the aid of a street organ. Before the war Great Britain had nearly a million persons whose legal status was that of paupers. It is easy to imagine what the condition of the country will be if the poor-law army is allowed to be swelled by thousands of men who have been disabled in the war.

The aggregate of disabled men for all the warring nations runs to millions, and they are practically all Europeans. This immense population, filling the hospitals now as thick as leaves in an Autumn forest, dependent upon public and private benevolence, despite the salvage that will be effected by refitting and re-educating a certain proportion, already means a huge loss to the productive capacity of Europe and the social and intellectual activities upon which economic well-being depends.

[HUMAN DOCUMENTS OF THE WAR]

# A War Vision

By Count Ilya Tolstoy

[Translated from the Russian by Miss I. Rojansky for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.]

This is the first English translation of excerpts from a war diary written by Count Ilya Tolstoy, a son of the late Count Leo Tolstoy, the famous novelist. Count Tolstoy has been serving with the Red Cross branch of the Russian Army, and these impressions are from his diary. He is now visiting the United States.

THE war relics of devastated structures leave a sad and painful impression. Of the many deserted battlefields which I have seen during the two years past, of the nameless little graves faintly marked with little wooden crosses, of the deserted trenches, nothing gave me so much food for deep and sad reflection as the bare and lonely chimneys projecting from amid piles of rubbish, melancholy blackened pots, the scattered remnants of domesticity; a smashed pail, a broken wheel, a binding of a torn book, the splinters of what was once a crib.

To think that hereabout dwelt a family; that they were contented and possibly happy! Those walls, stripped and crumbled, what have they not seen!

It always seems to me that an event having occurred at a given place, the memory of the occurrence attaches permanently to it. Whenever I happened to find myself in a locality in which some memorable events had taken place I could not think of those events without at the same time visualizing the surroundings amid which they occurred; and the more recent the occurrence, the more vividly I can see the scene unfolding itself before my eyes.

The vast number of such impressions which the present war has produced make a film, vivid and endless.

I remember one such pile of ruins, which I saw not far from the road leading to Jaroslav. This ruin remained permanently fixed in my memory by reason of a horrible tale connected with it.

Some time ago there lived on a farm a well-to-do Galician gardner. When the war broke out he was drafted into the

army. He went forth, leaving behind him a wife and three small children. Shortly following his departure, troops commenced appearing in the immediate neighborhood. At first came small detachments, but these were quickly followed by more formidable bodies. In a short time lines of trenches were dug on both sides of the farm and real warfare began.

The firing was continuous. The family sought safety in the corners of their hut. They hid in the cellar under the heaps of beets and potatoes, but the children soon became accustomed to the hissing of bullets and lost all fear of them.

The wounded soldiers, for the most part Austrians, began crawling toward the farm. There they bound up their wounds. The children looked on and sometimes gave aid, holding with their tiny fingers the blood-soaked cotton, or winding long and transparent bandages around the wounded limbs. They became accustomed to pain and to the groans of the dying, and in their naïve and simple way rendered all the help of which they were capable.

At night, when darkness fell and when firing from both sides would cease, the Austrian relief workers would come, place the wounded on long and unsteady stretchers, and carry them to the rear. On one occasion the wounded sent the eldest girl to the pond to fetch some water. She stayed away for a long, long time. Later she was found lying on the grass with a bullet in her slender little shoulder. The pails lay near her empty.

During the night she, too, was placed on a stretcher and was carried away. With her went the mother and the rest

of the children. From that night on the farm remained forsaken.

The wounded, however, continued crawling to the hut, their numbers increasing from day to day. At times the litter bearers could not manage to look into the farm, and the wounded lay for days at a stretch without aid.

At the end of October a serious cholera epidemic broke out among the Austrian troops. From that time on there appeared among those creeping toward the lonely farm large numbers of emaciated and pale-blue forms—shadows of men. On reaching the farm they fell on to the straw, coiled and groaned in agony, and for the most part remained lying there, silenced by everlasting sleep.

There was no one to bury the bodies, and they gradually began decomposing. On top of those bodies fell more and more. It became impossible to live amid these hellish surroundings, and if by chance some unfortunate wounded happened to come along most of them would leave the little hut and limp ahead, preferring to dare the firing line rather than be stifled in this horrible atmosphere of death and stench.

The engagements, having lasted several weeks, became more and more stubborn. The trenches crept nearer and nearer, until they resembled two live, gigantic horns about to embrace each other. Presently one of the Austrian trenches came so near the farm that the house became an obstacle to firing, and an order was issued to apply the torch to the encumbrance.

It was a dangerous task; all knew through experience that the Russians keep a sharp lookout on all that transpires in the enemy line and do not allow to pass with impunity the most insignificant move on the part of the enemy. At night the men, while smoking, would lie low at the very base of the trench, as the mere striking of a match sufficed to draw fire from the opposite lines.

As a result of some faint noise or a slight movement, vigorous firing would not infrequently burst out all along the line, and instead of getting the much-needed rest, the soldiers would pass nights on their feet and remain fatigued

from sleeplessness and nervous exertion.

A young Second Lieutenant, recently promoted, and clean-shaven, volunteered to apply the torch. Though an ambitious man, he was at the same time limited and cowardly. He always tried to conceal his cowardice under a mask of arrogance, pushing his way forward whenever there was an opportunity to get into the spotlight and have his name mentioned. To brace himself, the officer emptied a large glass of spirits, and, taking along one of the men, left a cozy, sheltered trench and began feeling his way across the fields.

The night was dark as a grave, and over the lowland of the garden hung a thick, milky fog. The feet sank deep into the sticky, soaking mud. The Lieutenant's assistant went slowly, bent to the ground and breathing heavily.

They continued on their way without seeing anything ahead. Though the distance between them and their object was only 200 yards, it seemed to them from time to time as if they had lost their bearings and were going in the wrong direction.

Soon they were aware of a heavy, suffocating smell; the next moment there loomed up before their eyes a sombre silhouette of a building. It stood there enveloped in fog.

Reaching a corner of the house, the Lieutenant stopped short, drew from his ulster a big field revolver, and whispered to the man to come near.

It seemed that his main care was not to carry out the task he had undertaken, but to hide conveniently from the Russian fire, and then slip off to the rear as soon as the house caught fire. He figured that while the flames were spreading over the structure, and before they had reached the last wall, he could quietly and without the least danger remain under shelter. As soon as the fire enveloped the structure, and before the walls began crumbling, he would run back in time to avoid exposure by the conflagration.

With this in view, he gave orders to his subordinate to pile up straw on the side of the building directly facing the trenches. In the meantime the officer, having taken shelter behind the opposite

wall, lit a cigar and remained waiting for developments.

A few moments of long and painful suspense followed. The poor Lieutenant was in a state of frenzy. It was not the personal danger alone that now excited his imagination. He was tormented by the mystic fear of that which he was about to carry out. In the darkness he drew a sombre sketch of all that was hidden behind the wall, the inevitable which he was to face within a few moments.

How many of them are there? In what stage of decomposition? How do they lie?

The officer suddenly recalled a conversation in which some one had told him that when the flames touched the dead in the crematory they coiled and twisted as if alive. In his excited imagination he quickly pictured a wild dance of the dead which was about to begin.

"When they calm down," he thought, "after they are burned, as soon as roast meat is scented I will run, and then let the Russians shoot at them. All I have to do is to get away in time. If we were only done with this! Quick! Quick!"

At this moment he became aware of a pleasant smell of straw smoke, and immediately afterward the opposite corner of the structure burst into a bright flame. Almost simultaneously with the flash firing began from the Russian trenches, and it seemed to the officer that a few bullets hissed near him.

The soldier succeeded in pouring a great quantity of kerosene into the interior of the house. The fire spread with unusual swiftness. In two minutes the structure was all ablaze.

The officer stood at the open door, watching curiously the interior of the main room. Scattered all over the floor there lay contorted and twisted forms. They lay in irregular heaps. It was an appalling and gruesome sight. From somewhere protruded some one's long, bare legs; near the wall lingered a lonely arm, curled, swollen, and slightly lifted, it hung in a threatening posture; from under a tattered old military coat projected a thick brush of black-blue hair; and at some distance, leaning on the furnace,

there half sat the mighty figure of a stately corpse. The majestic body was bent in gloom, two huge, rough, and calloused hands supporting a big head.

Suddenly it seemed to the Lieutenant as if he heard some one groan. The sound became more and more audible, coming nearer and nearer; one voice, a second, somebody called, a cry rang out, and suddenly pandemonium broke loose. Air-rending cries came from all sides, and men began to drop, one by one, falling about the officer and stretching at his feet. Some fell straight from the ceiling to the earthen floor, others came creeping down the ladder; they dropped into the flames, choking and writhing in deadly agony.

The officer, half dead from fright, drew his revolver and opened fire. He ceased firing when his supply of bullets gave out. His ammunition gone, the Lieutenant threw down the weapon and ran. No one will ever know the number of unfortunates he thus killed. All I know is that of all the men hiding in the garret of that farm only one was saved. It was he who told me this terrible tale. He did this while lying in one of our hospitals. According to his version, there were at the time in the building a great number of wounded soldiers, who had come there during the last engagement. When fire was set to the house, they endeavored to get down. All perished. Some were burned alive, while others were shot to death by their own officer. Among those who perished was also the soldier who had served as the Lieutenant's assistant.

These were the horrible visions. I saw them every time I chanced to pass the ruined and devastated spot.

The fate of the vain and unhappy officer does not in the least concern me. I am not even disposed to blame him for his weakness. For this we can only pity a man. One is bound to pity also those who met death at his hands.

But for some reason or other I cannot help remembering the wounded little girl. There she lay, dying from loss of blood; there at the turning of the footpath, near the two little birch trees.

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# American Precedents for All British Dealings With Neutrals at Sea

By A. Maurice Low

*Author of "The Law of Blockade"*

Mr. Low is an English journalist and publicist who has spent the best part of his life in the United States, and has been for some years the Washington correspondent of The London Morning Post. He is a frequent contributor to leading magazines on both sides of the Atlantic, and is the author of numerous books on American life and institutions.

THE United States has a serious dispute with Great Britain over the blockade of Germany, which most Americans believe is not a legitimate exercise of the rights of belligerency but a defiance of neutral rights in violation of international law and precedent. I shall show that for everything the British Government has done since the beginning of the war affecting neutrals there is an exact precedent derived from American authorities; that the British Government is simply following the rulings of the Supreme Court of the United States in its decisions arising out of seizures of neutral vessels during the American civil war, and that the practices of the commanders of British cruisers are in every respect those which were enforced by American commanders during the civil and Spanish wars, which were sanctioned by the Supreme Court.

The American Government protested against neutral ships being taken into British ports for examination instead of search being made on the high seas. The new practice, Secretary Lansing wrote, subjected the neutral to great inconvenience and loss, and was unnecessary, as a board of naval experts, to whom the question had been referred, reported to him that it was as easy to search a vessel

of 20,000 tons at sea as it was one of a thousand tons.

On March 13, 1863, Rear Admiral Theodorus Bailey, commanding the East Gulf Blockading Squadron, writing to the Secretary of the Navy, expressed his dissatisfaction because the British brig Magicienne had been released by the Prize Commissioner, and said:

In this connection I would remind the department that the mere fact of contraband would be sufficient to warrant her being seized by our cruisers and sent in for adjudication, and that a search for such further proof of complicity with the rebels, as is suggested above would be impossible at sea, [my italics.] as all such proof would naturally be stowed well out of reach. (Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the

Rebellion, Series 1, Vol. XVII., Page 402.)

Thus, fifty years ago an American squadron commander found it impossible to search vessels at sea and was forced to take them into port.

As the American note (although there are many notes, for the sake of convenience I discuss them as a whole) lays much stress on this alleged obnoxious and indefensible practice, I shall refer to it later; here it is only necessary to say that the Supreme Court of the United States held that when a commander believes a vessel carries contraband he is in duty bound to bring in the vessel for



A. MAURICE LOW  
(Photo © Harris & Ewing)

adjudication. In pronouncing decision in the Peterhoff case Chief Justice Chase declared:

The search led to the belief on the part of the officers of the Vanderbilt that there was contraband on board destined to the enemy. This belief, it is now apparent, was warranted. It was, therefore, the duty of the captors to bring the Peterhoff in for adjudication. (*The Peterhoff*, 5 Wall, 28.)

Sir Edward Grey might with propriety have referred to the decision of the Supreme Court in the Isabella Thompson case, (3 Wall, 155,) in which it was held:

The term "probable cause" in matters of prize means such circumstances as would warrant a reasonable ground of suspicion that the vessel was engaged in an illegal traffic. To adopt a harsher rule, and hold that the captors must decide for themselves the merits of each case, would involve perils which few would be willing to encounter.

#### *Chief Justice Fuller*

Exigencies of space will not permit further civil war decisions, but it is important to give a decision arising out of the last war in which the United States engaged, which shows that the American judicial mind takes the same view today of national rights in time of war as it did half a century earlier. During the Spanish war the Olinde Rodrigues, a French ship, was captured for attempted breach of the blockade of San Juan, Porto Rico. In pronouncing decision Chief Justice Fuller said:

Probable cause for making the capture undoubtedly existed. \* \* \* Probable cause exists when there are circumstances sufficient to warrant suspicion, though it may turn out that the facts are not sufficient to warrant condemnation. And whether they are or not cannot be determined unless the customary proceedings of prize are instituted and enforced. Even if not found sufficient to condemn, restitution will not necessarily be made absolutely, but may be decreed conditionally, as each case requires, and an order of restitution does not prove lack of probable cause. (174 U. S., 510.)

Mr. Lansing complains of the vexatious proceedings of British naval officers, yet here is the Supreme Court of the United States sanctioning a seizure if there is "probable cause"; and not only sanctioning it but saying even if a ship is released the fact of restitution does not prove lack of probable cause.

Meeting the American protest that it is illegal for a belligerent to interfere

with goods intended to become incorporated in the mass of merchandise for sale in a neutral country, or, as it is more commonly known, with goods intended to be incorporated in the "common stock" of the country, Sir Edward Grey says the mere fact that goods are ostensibly destined to form part of the common stock of a neutral country cannot be regarded as sufficient evidence to prove their innocence.

It is unfortunate that the Foreign Secretary does not clinch his argument by the citations, because they would quiet American resentment. The Supreme Court definitely settled the question of real and fictitious trade when it said:

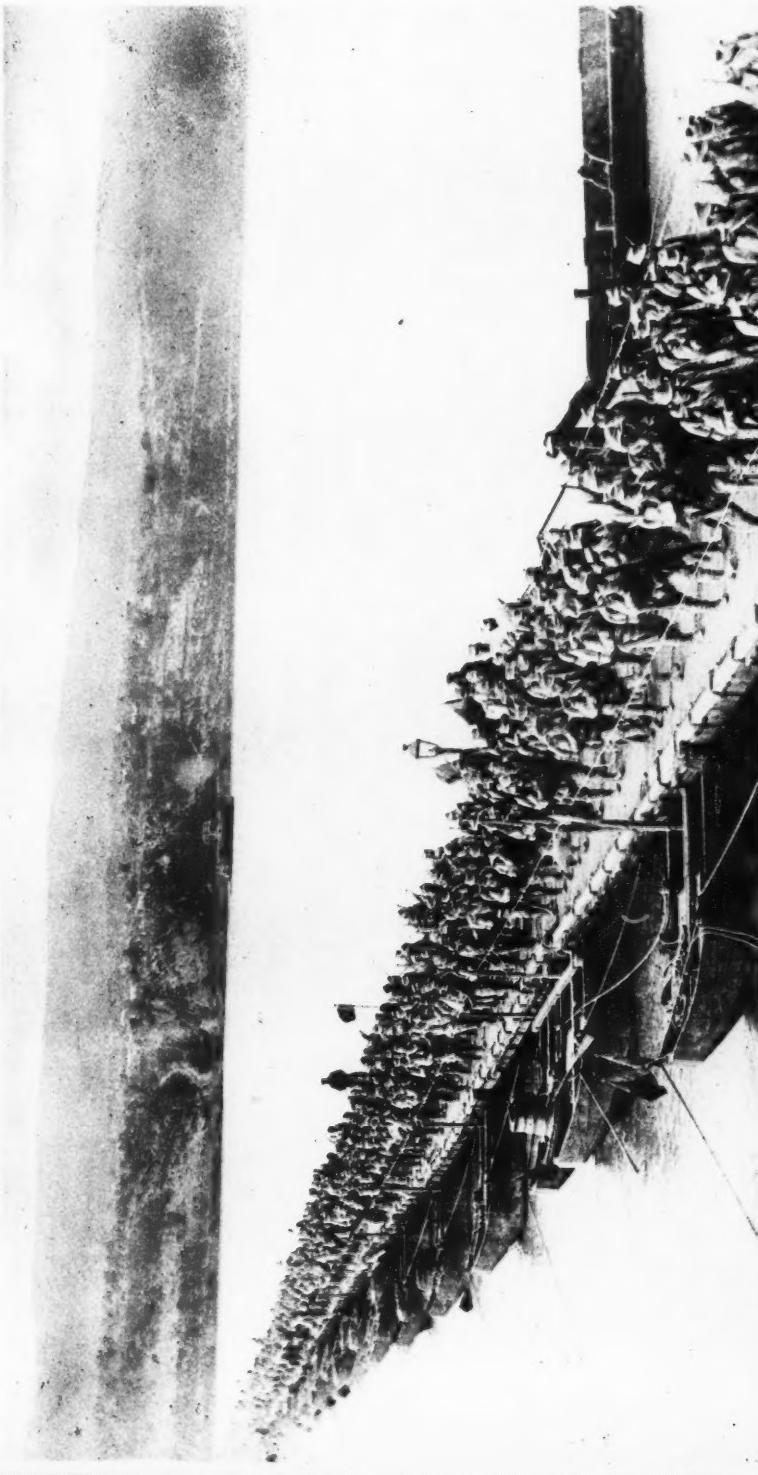
If by trade between neutral ports is meant real trade, in the course of which goods conveyed from one port to another become incorporated into the mass of goods for sale in the port of destination \* \* \* we accept the proposition of counsel as correct. But if it is intended to affirm that a neutral ship may take on a contraband cargo ostensibly for a neutral port, but destined in reality for a belligerent port, either by the same ship or another, without becoming liable from the commencement to the end of the voyage to seizure, in order to the confiscation of the cargo, we do not agree with it. (*The Bermuda*, 3 Wall, 515.)

Mr. Lansing objects to the wide extension of the contraband list and questions the legality of the British Government declaring certain articles contraband heretofore never so regarded. Mr. Cass, Secretary of State, addressing Mr. Mason, American Minister to France, on the subject of contraband, wrote on June 27, 1859: "There is no approved enumeration of the articles coming within the prohibition. \* \* \* The principle by which they are to be tested is so loosely defined that it is practically of little use."

In 1864 the United States added coin and bullion to the contraband list. Printing presses, material and paper, and postage stamps belonging to the enemy, and intended for his immediate use, were declared contraband by a ruling of the Supreme Court of the United States. (*The Bermuda*, 3 Wall, 515.) Mr. Bayard, when Secretary of State, wrote:

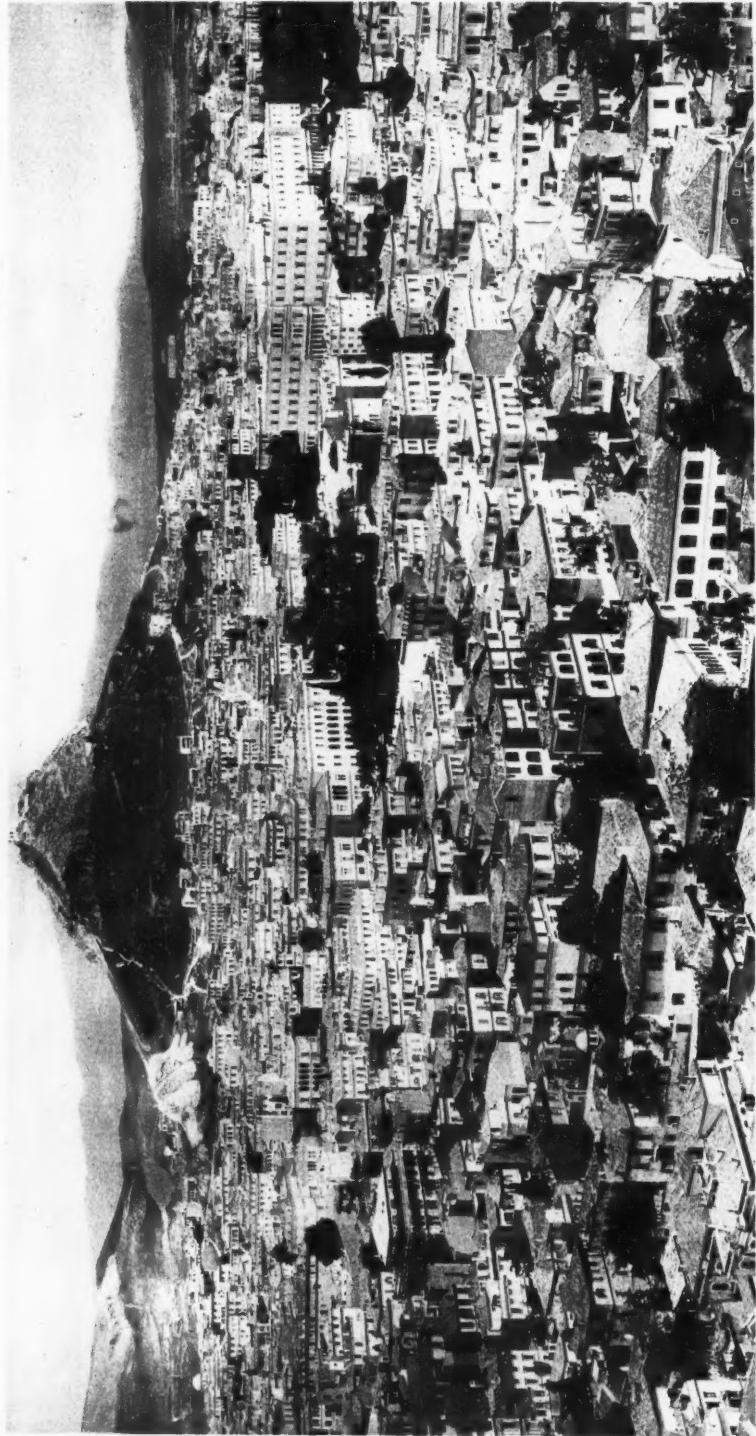
I apprehend it to be the settled rule of international law that the question of contraband is to be determined by the special circumstances of each case. Horses, for ex-

RUMANIAN TROOPS RETREATING ACROSS THE DANUBE



Across This Pontoon Bridge in Northern Dobrudja the Rumanians Were Driven Back by the Germans  
*(Photo from Underwood & Underwood.)*

VIEW OF HEART OF ATHENS AS SEEN FROM THE ACROPOLIS



The Greek Capital, with Its Ruler, King Constantine, Has Furnished the Entente Allies with One of Their Knottiest War Problems

(Photo from Central News Service.)

ample, would not ordinarily be spoken of as contraband, yet all authorities agree that they may be so regarded when their supply is so essential to a particular belligerent that he cannot carry on operations successfully without them.

#### *Chase on Contraband*

That the term contraband has a meaning but is incapable of precise definition was stated by Chief Justice Chase in delivering the decision in the Peterhoff, when he said: "A strictly accurate and satisfactory classification [of contraband] is perhaps impracticable."

The same eminent authority enlarged the established list of contraband acknowledged by the American Government by including not only recognized articles of military use, but also those for the use of the civil branch of the belligerent Government, the first time, I believe, this inclusion was made. In the Bermuda decision the Chief Justice said:

Now, what were the marks by which the conveyance of contraband on the Bermuda was accompanied? First, we have the character of the contraband articles, fitted for immediate use in battle, or for the immediate civil service of the rebel Government.

**Mr. Bayard, Secretary of State, writing to the Spanish Minister, said:**

Cotton, in fact, was to the Confederacy as much munitions of war as powder and ball, for it furnished the chief means of obtaining those indispensables of warfare. In international law there could be no question as to the right of the Federal commanders to seize it as contraband of war, whether they found it on rebel territory or intercepted it on the way to the parties who were to furnish in return material aid in the form of the sinews of war, arms or general supplies.

**Chancellor Kent says:**

It is the usus bellici which determined an article to be contraband, and as articles come into use as implements of war which were before innocent, there is truth in the remark that as the means of war vary and shift from time to time, the law of nations shifts with them; not, indeed, by the change of principles, but by a change in the application of them to new cases and in order to meet the varying inventions of war.

The American Government challenges the validity of the blockade, because under the established rule of international law not only must a blockade be effective, but it must apply impartially to the ships of all nations. The American Government alleges, "as a matter of common knowledge," that the German coasts

are open to trade with the Scandinavian countries, and German naval vessels cruise both in the North Sea and the Baltic. Therefore, the blockade is unequal, as while it prevents American commerce with Germany, it leaves Sweden, Norway, and Denmark free to trade with Germany. Furthermore, a belligerent may not blockade neutral ports, but Great Britain, by interfering with neutral trade, is virtually blockading neutral coasts.

Sir Edward Grey's answer is to recall the action of the United States during the civil war in stopping trade between neutral ports and the blockaded Southern ports, and the extension by the Supreme Court of the doctrine of continuous voyage so as to cover all cases of intent to break the blockade, direct or indirect.

The British case at this point would have been strengthened had Sir Edward Grey called Mr. Lansing's attention to the decision of the Supreme Court in the Olinde Rodrigues, (174 U. S. 510.) Chief Justice Fuller in delivering the opinion said:

Blockades are maritime blockades, or blockades by sea and land; and they may be either military or commercial, or may partake of the nature of both. The question of effectiveness must necessarily depend on the circumstances. \* \* \*

Our Government was originally of the opinion that commercial blockades in respect of neutral powers ought to be done away with; but that view was not accepted, and during the period of the civil war the largest commercial blockade ever known was established.

#### *Ultimate Destination*

The "commercial blockade of neutral powers," which received the sanction of the Supreme Court, is one of the weapons employed by England to reduce Germany, and is an application of the American doctrine of ultimate destination. That doctrine is very simple, but that it may be understood by every one, lawyer as well as layman—and there are some lawyers who certainly do not understand it, as they have written to their own confusion—a short historical sketch is necessary.

In 1801 Sir William Scott, later and more generally known as Lord Stowell, sitting in the Court of Admiralty, held

that no matter at how many ports a vessel touched, or how much of her cargo was discharged or taken on en route, the voyage was continuous from the original port of departure to the final port of destination. This was the doctrine of "continuity of voyages," as it was originally called, and in modern times the doctrine of continuous voyage. Scott invented his doctrine to stamp with illegality voyages between the French and Dutch colonies and the mother countries, with whom Great Britain was at war. To secure immunity French and Dutch colonial products were shipped in neutral vessels, which first touched at an American port, where by a pleasing legal fiction the cargoes ceased to be French or Dutch and became American.

During the American civil war British ships laden with British goods were dispatched nominally to the British West Indian possessions, but actually their cargoes were for the Confederacy. Federal cruisers went out into the Atlantic, some of them 1,000 miles from the blockaded Southern coast, and captured British vessels. Their owners claimed that the seizures were in violation of international law, as the vessels were proceeding from one neutral (British) port to another; that no evidence was produced to show the vessels contemplated a breach of blockade; that no proof had been adduced that their cargoes were enemy goods; that the United States had always stood for the principle of "free ships, free goods," and a ship under a neutral flag was "free"; that the goods were intended in the exercise of legitimate commerce to be sold into the common stock of the place where they were to be discharged, and, Great Britain being a neutral, it was illegal and in violation of international law for a belligerent to blockade the ports of a neutral—the very point, it may be added, that Secretary Lansing more than half a century later now applies as against Great Britain. The Supreme Court decided against these ingenious but dishonest sophistries by declaring:

A voyage from a neutral to a belligerent port is one and the same voyage, whether the destination be ulterior or direct, and whether with or without the interposition of one or more intermediate ports; and whether

to be performed by one vessel or several employed in the same transaction and in the accomplishment of the same purpose. (The Bermuda, 3 Wall, 515.)

And again in the same case: "It makes no difference whether the destination to the rebel port was ulterior or direct."

This doctrine of ulterior, ultimate, real, or final destination, and the terms were interchangeably used by the Supreme Court, greatly enlarged the scope of the original doctrine. Sir William Scott held that seizure could not be legally made until after the vessel had touched at the intermediate port. That is to say, a vessel sailing from Martinique for New York was immune from seizure, but after leaving New York, if she attempted to make a French port, she could be captured. Under the Supreme Court doctrine of ultimate destination it was legal to seize a vessel between the port of original departure and the intermediate neutral port, "and this on the conjecture of an ulterior adventure being projected for the goods in question from such intermediate neutral to a blockaded port."

#### A Civil War Precedent

Mr. Lansing complains that British cruisers have seized neutral vessels on "suspicion" and not on the "evidence found on the ship under investigation," and Sir Edward Grey fails to remind him what was done during the civil war. On July 7, 1862, the British steamer Adela, while off Great Abaco Island, was captured by the Quaker City and sent into Key West as a prize. Commander Frailey of the Quaker City, reporting his capture to the Secretary of the Navy, says: "I did not examine her hold, being under the impression at that time that I had no authority to open her hatches, but, having a *suspicion* [my italics] of her character, I deemed it my duty to send her into port and hand her over to judicial authority for examination." Commander Frailey had no proof, he did not even open a hatch, but having his suspicions and being in doubt he played trumps.

The Supreme Court did what I believe no other court has ever done, and that is, declared intent to be sufficient to convict. It applied to the civil law the

harsh principle of the more rigorous criminal law, which makes intent the distinction between murder and manslaughter. In the proceedings arising out of the Circassian (2 Wall, 135) the court ruled that "a vessel sailing from a neutral port with intent to violate a blockade is liable to capture and condemnation as prize from the time of sailing, though she intended to call at another neutral port not reached at the time of capture, before proceeding to her ulterior destination"; and again in the Cornelius (3 Wall, 214) it was held that "presumption of an intent to run a blockade by a vessel bound apparently to a lawful port may be inferred from a combination of circumstances." Could anything more be desired by a belligerent? Satisfy the prize court of intent, infer presumption of an intent to run the blockade, and the vessel stands condemned.

The Southern ports were under blockade, and any vessel, no matter what her cargo, whether contraband or noncontraband, found within the limits of the blockade was lawful prize for attempted breach of blockade. This is well established in international law and acquiesced in by all nations. Once again the Supreme Court enlarged international law. It was lawful for a neutral British ship to carry all classes of goods, contraband or not, to a British port in the West Indies. That the Supreme Court did not challenge, but in sustaining the validity of the capture of the Springbok, seized 150 miles off Nassau in 1862 while en route to that port, Chief Justice Chase, announcing the decision of the court, said:

We do not now refer to the character of the cargo for the purpose of determining whether it was liable to condemnation as contraband, but for the purpose of ascertaining its real destination; for, we repeat, contraband or not, it could not be condemned if really destined for Nassau and not beyond; and, contraband or not, it must be condemned if destined to any rebel port, for all rebel ports were under blockade. (5 Wall, 13.)

The fact that a vessel carries goods of which Great Britain knows Germany has urgent need is sufficient presumption, under the rulings of the Supreme Court, that their ultimate destination is Germany. It is not necessary that on the

vessel there should be found absolute proof. Suspicion may be inferred, and on that suspicion the vessel can be seized and taken into port. Nor is it necessary that anything more than intent be shown. Nor does it absolve the vessel because its voyage terminated at Rotterdam or a Scandinavian port. If the court can satisfy itself that the ultimate destination of the cargo is Germany, that is sufficient to work forfeiture. To none of this, I submit, ought the United States to object, in view of its own decisions.

All the decisions I have cited deal only with continuous voyages in fact, that is, sea voyages, and where no question of land transportation was concerned. It can well be held, and that view is strictly in accordance with the facts and common sense, that a voyage is continuous no matter how devious the course of the ship or at how many ports she touches before reaching her port of destination. But can it be said in truth that a "voyage" is continuous when a ship is unloaded in a port and her cargo must be transported by land before it reaches the hands of the owner?

The doctrine of continuous voyage could not be made effective against transport partly sea and partly land; the doctrine of ultimate destination could, and was. Again I must give a short historical retrospect to enable the reader to have a clear understanding of the facts. One means of the Confederacy's procuring foreign merchandise was to send it to Matamoros, at the mouth of the Rio Grande, and there take it across the river into Texas. Against this traffic the United States was powerless. The Rio Grande, being neutral waters, could not be blockaded.

In 1863 Rear Admiral Theodorus Bailey was in command of the East Gulf Blockading Squadron. His reports and orders, scores of which I have examined, show him to be a first-class sailor, very similar, one would say, to hundreds of officers under Sir John Jellicoe, like them impatient of juridical niceties, and anxious only to be given an opportunity to exert their full power against the enemy. With Lincoln in the White House, Seward in the State Department, and Welles in the Navy Department

the interests of the United States were safe.

#### *The Matamoros Cases*

Early in 1863 the British brig *Magicienne* for Matamoros was captured off the Cape Verde Islands and brought into Key West for adjudication, there subsequently to be released. Bailey was dissatisfied. The *Peterhoff*, another British vessel, also bound for Matamoros, had been captured, and Bailey was afraid she would slip through the court on a technicality. To Welles he wrote, "It will readily occur to the Government that, unless this trade can be restricted in some way, the object of blockading our southern coast must necessarily, in a great measure, be frustrated."

Six days later Bailey again wrote to the department suggesting that an arrangement be made with the French (France and Mexico were then at war) for a joint blockade of the Rio Grande so as effectually to seal up Matamoros "against any set of papers that a vessel could carry."

Welles saw at once that Matamoros was the Northern heel of Achilles, and unless a way could be devised to stop supplies reaching the rebels by land transport through Matamoros the blockade would fail. On receipt of Bailey's dispatches, Welles sent them to Seward for his information; and to Chase he wrote asking if some measures might not suggest themselves to him "to restrict the trade between Northern ports and Matamoros and check the growing and injurious illicit intercourse with the insurgents."

It is interesting to note, as showing how neatly circumstances dovetailed, that Chase, as Secretary of the Treasury, sitting in the Cabinet, must have heard the discussion between Seward and Welles over the Matamoros trade and probably was asked for his opinion; must have known the urgent necessity of stopping this traffic; must have recalled those Cabinet discussions when a year later he was appointed by Mr. Lincoln Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, and as Chief Justice delivered those momentous *Bermuda*, *Springbok*, and *Peterhoff* decisions that made the

American doctrine of ultimate destination part of the law of nations.

A short passage in a letter from Welles to Seward strikingly illustrates the grasp and foresight of these men and with what little hesitation they cut the Gordian knot. To Seward, on June 23, 1863, Welles wrote:

Our rights as a nation ought not to be sacrificed because a new question has arisen that has not heretofore been adjudicated or settled by diplomatic arrangement. Because the Rio Grande is a neutral highway, it is not to be used to our injury; yet we know such to be the fact, and it seems to me some effectual steps should be taken to correct the evil. It can be done, I apprehend, in a manner satisfactory to both countries, and a principle be established that will be conformable to international law.

Welles saw that a principle must be established. He was soon to have his desire gratified. We left the *Peterhoff* waiting judgment, with that good sailor man, Theodorus Bailey, apprehensive about her fate. His fears were soon quieted. She went into the prize court and was condemned, and in due course an appeal was taken to the Supreme Court. That court accepted in good faith that she was going to Matamoros and not an enemy port, and agreed that neither the mouth of the Rio Grande nor the Mexican port of Matamoros could be blockaded, yet it decreed the condemnation of the contraband in the cargo and also the noncontraband belonging to the same owners under the "doctrine of infection." The contraband was condemned because all the circumstances indicated that its real destination was not Matamoros but the rebel forces in Texas. Contraband intended for a hostile country, the court ruled, could be seized whether that country was blockaded or not. Hence "articles of a contraband character, destined in fact to a State in rebellion, or for the use of the rebel military forces, were liable to capture, though primarily destined to Matamoros." (5 Wall, 28.)

#### *Supreme Court Ruling*

Now at last we have the doctrine of ultimate destination in its full perfection, and it is interesting to note how it was developed and brought to the measure of its efficiency under the ministering hands

of the Supreme Court. Sir William Scott ruled that a neutral vessel bound from an enemy port to a neutral port, and then continuing her voyage to an enemy port, was in fact making a continuous voyage and could be lawfully seized after resuming her journey from the neutral port. The Supreme Court held that a neutral vessel bound from one neutral port to another could be seized at any time after issuing from her port of departure if there was suspicion of her intent to land her cargo, either directly or through the interposition of another vessel, in enemy territory. To this it finally added the dictum that if contraband was discharged in a neutral port, and then transported by land to the enemy, it could be made lawful prize, even although no blockade existed. So that the Supreme Court has said it is legal for a belligerent to seize all goods, no matter what their character, when transported by a neutral by sea if the belligerent has reason to believe the ultimate destination of these goods is enemy country under blockade; and it is equally lawful to seize contraband, conveyed partly by sea and partly by land, passing through a neutral port to the enemy, even if no blockade exists.

It should be remembered that the doctrine of ultimate destination enunciated and enforced by the United States is not merely American municipal law. It is much more than that. It is international law as between the United States and Great Britain, and binding on both. The British Government accepted the doctrine, and by that acceptance it became incorporated into the code governing the relations between the two countries and is international law, so far as the two countries are concerned, as effectively and as affirmatively as any other provision of the law of nations.

The United States of course admits the validity of the doctrine of ultimate destination; it could not do otherwise; but it claims that the doctrine rests, in so far as non-contraband is concerned, on blockade, and where no blockade exists trade by a neutral between neutral ports cannot be interfered with. The only question then to be determined is whether a legal blockade exists.

It would be idle at this time to enter on a discussion of the legality of the British blockade, because neither the Foreign Office nor the State Department is a court of competent or final jurisdiction, and, with all due deference to both, the opinion of either would, in the judgment of the other, be *ex parte*, and therefore properly appealable to an impartial tribunal. Until the verdict is delivered neither Government nor individual can speak *ex cathedra*.

There is no uncertainty, however, in meeting the objection raised by the State Department to the extension of the contraband list, and especially to the abolition of conditional contraband. What Great Britain and her allies are doing is, I believe it can be fairly said, no more radical than the action of the Supreme Court when it engrafted the doctrine of ultimate destination on the doctrine of continuous voyage. Mr. Welles saw that there must be a "principle established" if the blockade was to be made effective. No new principle is involved in the extension of the list of contraband; it is simply, as Chancellor Kent declared, the change in the application of old principles in order to meet the varying inventions of war.

The Supreme Court and other eminent authorities have declared that contraband is not a term of fixed meaning, that it must necessarily be elastic, and that it is the *usus bellici* that determines the contraband nature of an article. In the past articles capable of military use were few and undisguisable; therefore it was not difficult to make the distinction between contraband and non-contraband. Today that distinction has ceased to exist.

#### *Blockade and Contraband*

Lawyers may argue that if the blockade is effective Great Britain does not have to make everything contraband, as nothing may pass into a blockaded country; and by making everything contraband Great Britain admits the ineffectiveness of the blockade. This, while theoretically true, has no force. It is a sound rule in law that when a litigant has alternative remedies he may avail himself of that which offers the largest measure of relief; it is equally sound

law that, arising out of the same cause of action, a litigant may simultaneously resort to more than one remedy to obtain redress. England may, under the rules of international law, apply both blockade and the prohibition of contraband against Germany, and by using both England does not violate international law. In this connection it is well to recall the letter addressed by the American Commissioners, Messrs. Pinckney, Marshall, and Gerry, to M. de Talleyrand, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, on Jan. 17, 1798, in the course of which they said:

The right of a belligerent over the goods of his enemy within his reach is as complete as his right over contraband of war, and it seems a position not easily to be refuted that a situation that will not protect the one will not protect the other. A neutral bottom, then, does not of right, in cases where no compact exists, protect from his enemy the goods of a belligerent power.

Are these goods, sent in an American ship to Rotterdam to go forward to Germany, goods of the enemy? Unquestionably they are; they are as much the goods of the enemy as if they had been ordered by the German Government in its own name, sold to the order of the German Government, and paid for by a draft on the German Treasury. The interposition of a neutral agent, who pays

for them with neutral funds in a neutral country, no more divests them of their true character as enemy goods than the interposition of a neutral port to an enemy port of final destination clothes contraband with innocency. "Neutrals who place their vessels under belligerent control and engage them in belligerent trade, or permit them to be sent with contraband cargoes under cover of false destination to neutral ports, while the real destination is to belligerent ports, impress upon them the character of the belligerent in whose service they are employed, and cannot complain if they are seized and condemned as enemy property." (The Hart, 3 Wall, 559.)

Whether this is harsh and injurious to the neutral cannot now be considered. It is American law. It is the law under which neutrals suffered injury when the United States was fighting to preserve its national existence. War always brings hardship and inconvenience to neutrals, which is the penalty neutrals must pay when nations are at war; and yet there has seldom been a war when some or all of the neutrals have not been made richer by it, and while the belligerents have shed their blood and dissipated their treasure neutrals have amassed wealth. This war is no exception.

## Esperanto Turned to War Uses

*A writer in the Paris Figaro gives these curious facts concerning the part played in the war by the new universal language, Esperanto, whose creator, Dr. Zamenhoff, designed it as the greatest of all agencies of peace:*

At the beginning of the war the German Esperantists proposed to the Minister of War that the universal language be used to "instruct" foreign nations. The idea was adopted, and the German authorities have had no cause to regret it. For months past, all the official war bulletins and accounts of battles emanating from the Staff Headquarters of Germany, Austria, Bulgaria, and Turkey have been translated into Esperanto at the moment of their publication and have been spread broadcast every day over twenty-eight neutral countries at the rate of a thousand copies to each country. In certain regions these German versions of events are the only available source of war information.

These same countries have been flooded with a brochure entitled "The Truth About the War," which contains the translation into Esperanto of the German White Books, the speeches of the Kaiser, the discourses of Bethmann Hollweg—in a word, all the documents which the Germans consider useful to spread abroad and justify their deeds. Behold a development which the good Dr. Zamenhoff did not foresee!

# What the Allies Are Fighting Against

## Gilbert Murray's Explanation to Neutrals

This brief and breezy analysis from *The Westminster Gazette* is especially addressed to Americans. Mr. Murray makes clear in a few words just what is the main issue of the war for the Entente nations and their friends.

**I**T is proverbially difficult to define an elephant, though quite easy to know one when you meet him. And any belligerent when talking to neutrals, especially to neutrals who live far removed from the scene of war, finds himself in a similar difficulty. We all of us know by now what we are fighting against. We know as it were by instinct the sort of thing that strikes us as "Hunnish" or "Teutonic." And the most sincerely pacific among us have perhaps most strongly the sense of being engaged in a profound struggle against evil. But it is difficult to make this feeling seem justified, or even quite intelligible, to a Western American, or to show that we ourselves embody any particular principle.

Partly, he lives too far off. He has not met the particular wild beast about which we say such strange things. Partly, also, I believe, the very magnitude of the cause at issue makes it difficult for us to explain and for neutrals to understand. It is a hard task to state that cause, to put into words, however imperfect, the centre of our profound feeling.

"Government of the people, by the people, for the people"? That is a principle which Americans have paid for with their blood, and which they understand with every fibre of their being. But is it exactly democracy for which we are fighting? The Republic of France, the limited monarchy of England, and the autocracy of Russia? We sometimes say, and feel, that we are fighting for democracy, and in a sense it is true; but democracy alone cannot be the exact definition of our cause.

Is it, then, a fight for civilization against barbarism? The thesis is difficult to maintain. In material civilization probably Germany is actually our superior. The organization of German

trade, of railways, of schools, of things intellectual, seems, at least to a superficial glance, to be the very acme of civilization. To speak of the Germans as barbarians may in some profoundest sense have truth in it, but in the ordinary meaning of the words it is a paradox.

Some writers, again, have tried to tell the Americans that we were fighting for Christianity against godlessness; but that is not, as it stands, a very persuasive statement. They can point to many saintly lives still lived in Germany; the book shelves of their professors of divinity are loaded with German books of devotion and theology; and I hardly imagine that we and our French allies make quite the impression of a nation of early Christians.

None of these statements seems exactly adequate, yet there is some profound truth underlying all of them. I do not suppose that my own definition will stand criticism much better than these I have mentioned, but I will venture to put down the way in which the issue strikes me.

We all remember the old philosophic doctrine of the "Social Contract" as the origin of ordered society; that men lived at first in a "state of nature," with no laws, no duties to one another, no relationships —*Homo homini lupus*, "every man a wolf to every other man," and then, finding that condition intolerable, they met together and made a contract, and hence arose civilized society. And many of us remember the criticism passed on the doctrine by such philosophers as T. H. Green. The criticism is that beings in that supposed condition could not even begin to make a contract; that before any contract can be thought of there must be some elementary sense of relationship, of mutual duty, some elementary instinct of public right. Before any contract is pos-

sible there must be at least the elementary understanding that if a man pledges his word he should keep it. It is that primary understanding, that elementary sense of brotherhood or of public right, which it seems to us the present Government of Germany in its dealing with foreign nations has sought to stamp out of existence. It has rejected, in the words of the King's speech, "the old ordinance which has held civilized Europe together." It has acted on a new ordinance that every nation shall be a wolf to its neighbor.

Put baldly thus, this degree of wickedness will seem hard to believe of such a nation as Germany. The neutral will suspect that we are just venting our anger in abuse. But I think we can see how it came about. Germany is the great country of specialization. Above all, she has produced the specialized soldier; not the humane soldier, the Christian soldier, the chivalrous soldier, or the soldier with the sense of civil duties; but the soldier who is trained to be a soldier and nothing else, to disregard all the rest of human relations, to see all his country's neighbors merely as enemies to be duped and conquered, to see all life according to some system of perverted biology as a mere struggle of force and fraud. The Germans have created this type of soldier, able, concentrated, conscienceless, and remorseless; and then—what no other people in the world has done—they have given the nation over to his guid-

ance. Of course we all have armies. We all have military experts and strategists. But with the rest of us the soldier is the last resort, like the executioner. We call him up only when all other means have failed. But in Germany the soldier is always present. He is behind the diplomatist, behind the educator, behind the preacher; he is behind the philosopher in his study and the man of science in his laboratory; always present and always in authority.

In other nations the sword is the servant of the public welfare, a savage servant never used but in the last necessity; in Germany all the resources of the nation, its banks and railways, its schools and universities, its very religion and philosophy, are the servants of the sword.

It is this which gives to our present war something of the quality of a crusade against the infidel. It is this which makes peace so difficult and confidence so impossible. It was something approaching to this which made it impossible for Europe to live at peace with Napoleon; for the other Italian States to live at peace with Cesare Borgia; for various modern nations to tolerate certain societies which denied allegiance to the State.

And the tragedy is that, in each case, so much devotion and such great virtues should be used merely as tools toward a purpose which the human conscience rejects as intolerable.



# BASIS OF A DURABLE PEACE

Discussion by "Cosmos" of Problems Arising  
in Ending the European War

A PROFOUNDLY considered discussion of the basis of a durable peace was contributed to THE NEW YORK TIMES toward the close of last year by a distinguished American. The series of articles attracted widespread attention in this country and in Europe. The writer signed himself "Cosmos" and was indorsed by the editor of THE NEW YORK TIMES as "a source the competence and authority of which would be recognized in both hemispheres \* \* \* one who possesses candor, breadth of view, impartial fairness, profound understanding of political principles and far-seeing statesmanship."

The first installments were postulated on a military and economic victory of the Allies over the Central Powers, and "the continuance of the war until it appears to be certain that an international agreement can be formulated which will first accomplish and make secure the ends for which the Allies are prosecuting the war."

In one of his final installments "Cosmos" defined the issues at stake in the great war as follows:

This is no ordinary war. It is, as has been said over and over again, a clash of ideals, of philosophies of life, of political and social aims. This is why it must be fought until the principles at stake are or can be established, and why it cannot be compromised. One who cannot range himself on one side or the other in this conflict must be either so dull of understanding as not to be able to comprehend the greatest things in the world or so profoundly immoral as not to care what becomes of the human race, its liberty and its progress.

In view of this attitude his formulae, which appear in abbreviated form below, may be definitely appraised.

## *Autonomy for Small Nations*

"Cosmos" first discusses the declarations of Viscount Grey on Oct. 23, 1916, and the German Chancellor's reply on Nov. 9, in which they both affirm their

adherence to the doctrine of the free development of all nations, both great and small. He finds that agreement between Germany and Great Britain is certainly in sight on this point, provided Germany is willing to permit the Poles and South Slavs to choose the form of their own political organization and to direct it when organized.

He then discusses the possibility of Germany's abandoning her traditional exclusive trade policy for the open door, and maintains that this might follow if the Allies abandon the purpose of a commercial strife after the war and offer the Central Powers, instead, "complete participation on equal terms in the trade of the world, on sole condition that political activity in other countries be abandoned and that an international guarantee for national security be at once agreed upon."

He maintains that Belgium must be restored and indemnified by Germany; Serbia likewise by Austria-Hungary; that Russia be assured free access to the sea throughout the year; that Alsace-Lorraine be restored to France, with compensation for damages, and that the freedom of the seas be assured. This latter subject is comprehensively discussed, and important citations are presented from instructions to American delegates to The Hague Peace Conventions and to urge for adoption the American doctrine of the absolute immunity of all private property not contraband from hostile treatment at sea, the same exemptions which such property already enjoys on land. He urges upon Great Britain the acceptance of this principle as hastening international peace, but adds:

The common sense of mankind, however, will not be satisfied with any definition of freedom of the seas in time of war which does not frankly put in the category of murder such amazing barbarities as history will recall whenever the words Lusitania and Sussex are mentioned.

### *As to Prussian Militarism*

"Cosmos" maintains that the threat of Prussian military domination will be ended, so far as the rest of the world is concerned, only when the German armies are defeated; but in so far as Prussian militarism is a state of mind he holds that "it cannot be exorcised by any forcible process whatsoever. It can be got rid of only by a change of heart on the part of the German people themselves." He argues that the disappearance of the German liberal element after the revolutionary movement of 1848 left Germany without the strong impulse toward democratic policies which the revolution of 1688 gave to England and 1789 to France. He concludes that subject as follows:

It is true that Prussian militarism must be wholly and finally destroyed before the peace of the world will be really secure, but inasmuch as it can only be wholly and finally destroyed by the German people themselves, the war need not be continued until that end is accomplished. All that the Allies can do toward the destruction of Prussian military domination is to confine it to Germany. When so confined it will disappear not slowly, but relatively fast by reason of its own weight and untimeliness.

There is, however, one way in which Prussian militarism might emerge victorious even if the German armies are finally defeated on the field of battle—that is, if the spirit and policies of Prussian militarism should conquer the mind of Great Britain or that of any other allied power. A Hymn of Hate is as unlovely when sung in English as when sung in German. The destruction of liberal policies and practices under the guise of national necessity differs but little from "die Not kennt kein Gebot," with which Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg defended the ravishing of Belgium. The Allies, and particularly Great Britain, have urgent need to be on their guard that when they are defeating Prussian militarism on the field of battle, it does not gain new and striking victories over them in the field of ideas. A durable peace requires that Prussian militarism be wholly and finally destroyed: first, by the allied armies in the field; second, by the German people in their domestic policies; and, third, by the allied powers in keeping it from invading their own political systems.

### *New International Order*

The series concludes with a full discussion of a new international order which may grow out of the war. In approaching this subject "Cosmos" quotes as an appropriate basis the Declaration of the American Institute of Interna-

tional Law as to the rights and duties of nations, issued Jan. 6, 1916, as follows:

1. Every nation has the right to exist and to protect and to conserve its existence; but this right neither implies the right nor justifies the act of the State to protect itself or to conserve its existence by the commission of unlawful acts against innocent and unoffending States.

2. Every nation has the right to independence in the sense that it has a right to the pursuit of happiness and is free to develop itself without interference or control from other States, provided that in so doing it does not interfere with or violate the rights of other States.

3. Every nation is in law and before law the equal of every other nation belonging to the society of nations, and all nations have the right to claim and, according to the Declaration of Independence of the United States, "to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them."

4. Every nation has the right to territory within defined boundaries and to exercise exclusive jurisdiction over its territory and all persons, whether native or foreign, found therein.

5. Every nation entitled to a right by the law of nations is entitled to have that right respected and protected by all other nations, for right and duty are correlative, and the right of one is the duty of all to observe.

6. International law is at one and the same time both national and international; national in the sense that it is the law of the land and applicable as such to the decision of all questions involving its principles; international in the sense that it is the law of the society of nations and applicable as such to all questions between and among the members of the society of nations involving its principles.

### *The Spirit of Nations*

He warns that too much reliance, however, must not be put upon formal declarations and upon the machinery of the most approved international system; of more importance, he says, is the spirit of the peoples affected. He approvingly quotes President Nicholas Murray Butler's definition of the international mind, which is

nothing else than that habit of thinking of foreign relations and business, and that habit of dealing with them, which regard the several nations of the civilized world as friendly and co-operating equals in aiding the progress of civilization, in developing commerce and industry, and in spreading enlightenment and culture throughout the world.

Once this point of view is gained and this

code of international morals accepted, then all dreams of world conquest will fade forever, as well as all schemes to extend Anglo-Saxon, or Latin, or Teutonic, or Slavonic culture over the whole world. The several stones in the structure of civilization will differ in size, in character, and in the weight that they support, but each one of them will do its part.

The several nations now at war and those neutral nations that will join them in bringing about a new international order could do no better than adopt as their platform the eloquent words of the declaration made by Elihu Root when Secretary of State of the United States in the presence of the official delegates of the American republics accredited to the third Pan-American Conference held at Rio de Janeiro on July 31, 1906, which stirred the heart of every American public and which sounded the note of a genuinely new international freedom:

We wish for no victories but those of peace, for no territory except our own, for no sovereignty except the sovereignty over ourselves. We deem the independence and equal rights of the smallest and weakest member of the family of nations entitled to as much respect as those of the greatest empire, and we deem the observance of that respect the chief guarantee of the weak against the oppression of the strong. We neither claim nor desire any rights, or privileges, or powers that we do not freely concede to every American republic. We wish to increase our prosperity, to expand our trade, to grow in wealth, in wisdom and in spirit, but our conception of the true way to accomplish this is not to pull down others and profit by their ruin, but to help all friends to a common prosperity and a common growth, that we may all become greater and stronger together.

#### *Work of The Hague Conferences*

Proceeding on this thesis, "Cosmos" reviews at length the progress made by the various Hague Conferences toward international arbitration and an international court of justice. Of the eight topics in the program submitted by the Russian Foreign Minister for the First Conference, the last related to the acceptance in principle of arbitration. This topic, and not the reduction of armaments, was the chief question that engaged the First Conference. "Cosmos" pays a tribute to Dr. Andrew D. White and Frederick W. Holls, Chairman and Secretary, respectively, of the American delegation, for their influence in having the principle of arbitration recognized by the conference.

He reviews that phase of the situation as follows:

The First Hague Conference did not really establish a court in the sense in which that word is generally understood, but it did make great progress toward the establishment of such a court and toward preparing the public mind for further and more definite steps. It was no small achievement to have the powers unite, as they then did, in the declaration that they would use their best efforts to insure the pacific settlement of international differences with a view to obviating as far as possible recourse to force in the relations between States. They agreed upon admirable provisions for good offices and mediation as well as for international commissions of inquiry. They defined international arbitration as having for its object "the settlement of disputes between States by judges of their own choice and on the basis of respect for law." It will at once be seen how far this falls short of the settlement of disputes between States by judges independently chosen, and on the basis not alone of respect for law, but of submission to law.

The permanent court of arbitration was really nothing more than a panel of men "of known competency in questions of international law, of the highest moral reputation and disposed to accept the duties of arbitrators." Such a tribunal as this, wholly dependent for its existence and usefulness upon the concurrence of two disagreeing States in submitting a question to arbitration and in agreeing to the choice of individual arbitrators, was not a true court. Nevertheless, its importance must not be minimized, for this tribunal has dealt with not a few cases of more than usual difficulty, and it has served to accustom the public opinion of the civilized world to the spectacle of sovereign nations submitting international disputes which had not been resolved by the usual diplomatic means to inquiry and judgment by arbitrators.

Mexico and the United States, at the instance of President Roosevelt, quickly submitted to this tribunal the Pious Fund case. Shortly afterward Germany, Great Britain, and Italy brought before it in the Venezuelan preferential case their controversy with the Republic of Venezuela over certain pecuniary claims of their subjects. Similarly France, Germany, and Great Britain submitted to The Hague Tribunal their difference with Japan over a matter arising from the extraterritorial jurisdiction which was maintained in respect to the citizens of foreign nations resident in Japan prior to 1894. The Casablanca case between France and Germany and the Savarkar case between France and Great Britain were similarly considered and decided. Doubtless the most important case yet heard by this tribunal was the North Atlantic coast fisheries case, in which Great Britain and the United States were opposing parties in a vexatious controversy that had lasted for 100 years.

It will be seen, therefore, that while the

nations have not yet established a real international court of justice, they have taken such long steps toward it that it should not be difficult to cover the remaining distance, in view of the vital importance of the existence of such a court to an international order which aims to secure a durable peace.

#### *International Court of Justice*

At the Second Conference in 1907 the American delegates were explicitly instructed by Secretary Root to add a real international court of justice to the permanent court of arbitration that was established in 1899. "Cosmos" discusses the proceedings of that conference in these words:

In his formal instructions to the American delegates to that conference Mr. Root pointed out that the principal objection to arbitration rests not upon the unwillingness of nations to submit their controversies to impartial arbitration, but upon an apprehension that the arbitrations to which they submit them may not be really impartial. In other words, he pressed upon the American delegates, and through them upon the conference, a clear recognition of the distinction between the action of Judges deciding questions of fact and law upon the record before them under a sense of judicial responsibility, and the action of negotiators effecting settlement of questions brought before them in accordance with the traditions and usages and subject to all the considerations and influences which affect diplomatic agents. The one is a judicial determination of a disputed question; the other is an attempt to satisfy both contending parties by arriving at some form of compromise.

Secretary Root pointed to the Supreme Court of the United States, passing with impartial and impersonal judgment upon questions arising between citizens of the different States or between foreign citizens and citizens of the United States, as a type of tribunal to which the nations of the world would be much more ready than now to submit their various controversies for decision. He instructed the American delegates to make an effort to bring about a development of the existing Hague Tribunal into a permanent court composed of Judges who are judicial officers and nothing else, who are paid adequate salaries, who have no other occupation, and who will devote their entire time to the trial and decision of international causes by judicial methods and under a sense of judicial responsibility. He pointed out that the members of such a court should be selected from different countries in such manner that the different systems of law and procedure and the principal languages would be fairly represented. It was Secretary Root's expressed hope that this court might be made of such dignity, consideration, and rank that the best and ablest jurists would

accept appointment to it, and that the whole world would have absolute confidence in its judgments. \* \* \*

#### *Co-operation Almost Secured*

It was by the joint efforts of the delegates from Great Britain, Germany, France, and the United States that the project for an international court of justice was approved by the Second Hague Conference on Oct. 16, 1907. Unfortunately the conference could not agree upon the method by which the Judges of the proposed court were to be chosen. Failure to agree on this vital point deprived the project for the moment of any practical effect. The conference went so far, however, after having adopted the project, as definitely to recommend that the court be established as soon as the nations could agree upon a method of appointing Judges. The German Government has officially declared its readiness to co-operate in the establishment of this court, and the British, French, and American Governments have publicly supported the action of their representatives at The Hague. These significant facts must not be overlooked.

It is important to bear in mind that the action of the Second Hague Conference in 1907 was not merely the expression of a wish or desire that a court should be established, but it was a definite recommendation to the powers to undertake the establishment of the court. Ever since the adjournment of the Second Hague Conference it has, therefore, been easy for any group of nations to agree to establish such a court for themselves by coming to a common determination as to how its Judges should be appointed. One hope was that an international prize court might be called into existence and its jurisdiction gradually enlarged to cover the field of an international court of justice.

It would now give great satisfaction to the lovers of justice throughout the world if, without waiting for the conclusion of the war, the Governments of the allied powers would publicly announce that as one of the terms and conditions of a durable peace they proposed to unite in the prompt establishment of an international court of justice substantially as outlined and agreed upon at the Second Hague Conference. Such a declaration on their part would emphasize anew the principles of liberty, of order, and of justice for which they are now contending on the field of battle, and would turn the thoughts of men, when terms of peace are discussed, more and more to that justice which must underlie and accompany any peace that is to be durable, and away from that vengeance and reprisal which can only incite to new wars.

To take this step should not be difficult, since the American Government has been pressing it upon all the chief powers for some years past and has indicated with definiteness and precision how the necessary steps may be taken. The work of the Naval Con-

ference at London in 1908-9 made a beginning in the formulation of some parts of that law which the proposed court must interpret and administer. The war broke out, however, before an agreement as to the Declaration of London had been finally worked out, and all further progress was necessarily suspended. There has never been a clearer demonstration of the truth of the ancient maxim, "inter arma silent leges."

#### American Official Plan

As late as Jan. 12, 1914, James Brown Scott, who as Solicitor for the Department of State had been a technical delegate at the Second Hague Conference, addressed to Mr. Loudon, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands, a letter begging him to take the initiative in bringing about the establishment of a court of arbitral justice through the co-operation of Holland, Germany, the United States, Austria-Hungary, France, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, and Russia. In this letter, which was written with the approval of Elihu Root and Robert Bacon, former Secretaries of State, it was pointed out that a court constituted through the co-operation of these nations would, to all intents and purposes, have the advantages and render the services of a true international court, and in a very short time would probably become a court to which every nation would be glad to resort. Before any action could be taken the overhanging war clouds burst into storm.

It is probable that the plan brought forward by Mr. Scott is the most practicable and, therefore, the one most likely eventually to be followed. An international court of justice established by agreement of the nine nations named would have all needed prestige and authority. Should a nation not party to the agreement wish to appear before the court as litigant or be ready to accept an invitation or summons so to appear, it would be easy to provide that in such case the nation in question might appoint an assessor for the hearing of that particular cause. Should a case come before the court involving two or more nations not parties to the agreement for its establishment, then similarly each of those nations might be given the right to name an assessor to participate in hearing the arguments in that case. It is neither necessary nor desirable to go here into further detail as to the constitution and scope of this court. These matters are dealt with in the fullest possible way, and from every point of view in the published records of the Second Hague Conference and in subsequent publications that deal with this specific question.

#### Supreme Court Precedents

Americans must be pardoned if they keep insisting upon the advantage of studying the history and practice of the Supreme Court of the United States in order to answer objections and to smooth away difficulties which arise in the minds of many thoughtful men in other countries as to the practicability of

an international court of justice. It may be doubted whether any strictly legal question as to the rights of nations and their nationals will arise before such a court which has not already arisen in some form or other before the Supreme Court of the United States as a question involving the rights of States and their citizens. For example, nearly eighty years ago the United States Supreme Court was called upon to distinguish a judicial from a political question; it did so then and has frequently done so since without serious difficulty. A question addressed to the framework and political character of a Government is essentially political; it is, therefore, not a question that is in its nature justiciable and that can be presented to a court.

It would, of course, be necessary for an international court of justice to build up gradually and by a series of decisions a body of precedents that would, so to speak, take the form of an international common law. The point of departure would be the international law of the moment, existing treaties, and the form of agreement through which the court itself would come into being. It might be expected that this court would decide for itself in matters of doubt whether or not a given question was justiciable. The international court of justice could hardly vary from the practice of the United States Supreme Court in not attempting to compel the presence of any Government made defendant or in not attempting to execute by force its finding against the contention of any Government. If the publicity attending the operations of such a court, the inherent and persuasive reasonableness of its findings, and a body of international public opinion that has turned with conviction to the judicial settlement of international disputes, cannot insure the carrying into effect of the judgments of an international court of justice, then the world is not ready for such a court. To establish it under such circumstances would merely be to provide another opportunity for so magnifying and sharpening points of international difference as probably to increase the likelihood of war.

There was a time when, under great stress of party and personal feeling, Andrew Jackson could say, "John Marshall has made his decision; now let him enforce it." Nevertheless, the judgments of the United States Supreme Court are not only obeyed but respected. This results not alone from the confidence in their reasonableness which the tradition of a century has built up, but from the fact that American public opinion will not tolerate any other course. There is every reason to believe that a course of judicial action that has been demonstrated to be practicable, wise, and beneficent within the United States will also in time be demonstrated to be practicable, wise, and beneficent as between nations. The important thing is to make a beginning. This the Allies are in position to do.

### Third Conference at Hague

"Cosmos" proposes that a third international conference be called to assemble at The Hague as soon as peace is established. He recalls the fact that the Sixty-fourth Congress, in enacting the Naval Appropriation bill, added a specific request to the President of the United States to

invite, at an appropriate time, not later than the close of the war in Europe, all the great Governments of the world to send representatives to a conference which shall be charged with the duty of formulating a plan for a court of arbitration or other tribunal, to which disputed questions between nations shall be referred for adjudication and peaceful settlement, and to consider the question of disarmament and submit their recommendation to their respective Governments for approval. The President is hereby authorized to appoint nine citizens of the United States who, in his judgment, shall be qualified for the mission by eminence in the law and by devotion to the cause of peace, to be representatives of the United States in such a conference. The President shall fix the compensation of said representatives and such secretaries and other employees as may be needed. Two hundred thousand dollars, or so much thereof as may be necessary, is hereby appropriated and set aside and placed at the disposal of the President to carry into effect the provisions of this paragraph.

"Cosmos" suggests that the United States delegates urge upon the conference: (a) The establishment of an international court of justice. (b) An international commission of inquiry to examine into all questions without exception at issue between nations. (c) Provision for automatic reassembling of the conference at four-year intervals. (d) The adoption of a formula of the rights of nations in conformity with the Declaration of the American Institute previously quoted. He argues that England, Germany, and France, by the recent declarations of their chief spokesmen, have indorsed the proposal of a league of nations to maintain peace, and that President Wilson on May 27, 1916, used these words:

Only when the great nations of the world have reached some sort of agreement as to what they hold to be fundamental to their common interest, and as to some feasible method of acting in concert when any nation or group of nations seeks to disturb those fundamental things, can we feel that civiliza-

tion is at least in a way of justifying its existence and claiming to be finally established.

### The Monroe Doctrine

The United States confronts a grave difficulty—in the form of the Monroe Doctrine—at the threshold of any intended participation in an international agreement to enforce peace. "Cosmos" cites the fact that at both previous conferences a reservation reaffirming the Monroe Doctrine was explicitly made by the American delegates, and adds:

Put in plain language, this reservation means that while there is one international law and while there may be one international order, in the declaration and establishment of which the United States participates, yet there are two separate and distinct areas of jurisdiction for the enforcement of international law and for the administration of the international order. The area of one of these jurisdictions is Europe and those parts of Asia and Africa immediately dependent thereon; the area of the second of these jurisdictions is America.

He goes on to say that, however feasible our joining a world's police league may appear in theory, "it seems quite plain that as a practical matter the people of the United States could not now be induced to take any such novel and revolutionary steps." While Europe has changed greatly since Washington wrote his Farewell Address and Monroe formulated his doctrine of American aloofness, and while time is on the side of democracy and will bring about its triumph in Europe sooner or later, there remains a well-defined cleavage of interests between the affairs of the New World and those of the Old World. "Cosmos" holds that true progress is more likely to be attained by the American people on the original lines laid down by Washington and Monroe than by trying any new and radical experiments. He continues:

The Monroe Doctrine must be accepted as an elementary fact in attempting to arrive at any practical conclusion as to the participation of the United States in the administration of a new international order. So far as European territory and jurisdiction are concerned, the new international order will have to be administered by the European nations themselves. So far as American territory and jurisdiction are concerned, the new international order will have to be administered by the people of the United States in friendly

concert with those of the other American republics.

The formal erection of these two separate jurisdictions need not in the least weaken the position or the influence of the United States in the counsels and semi-legislative acts which will lay the basis for a durable peace, and out of which the new international order will grow. Neither should it be held to deprive the people of the United States of the opportunity and the right to give expression to their feelings and convictions when questions of law and justice, of right and wrong, are raised as between nations in any part of the world. It simply means that for the reasons stated and on the grounds given the direct responsibility of the Government of the United States for the enforcement of the new international order will be limited to the American continents and to territory belonging to some one of the American republics.

### *Problems for Americans*

The Monroe Doctrine leads up directly to profoundly important questions of domestic policy affecting the military and naval systems of the United States. "Cosmos" remarks that competition in armaments is the worst possible form of international rivalry, but adds that to take a seat at an international council table without some adequate means of enforcing the nation's purpose would be merely to indulge in futile debate. The other liberty-loving nations would be justified in asking us, first, What policies do you recommend for the new world order? and, second, What can you do to help enforce that order if it be adopted? Among the conclusions to which this line of thought leads the author is this: That there should be established at once in the United States a system of universal military training. He continues:

The people of the United States will never become an important agency in the development of helpful world policies unless they first take those steps that both entitle and enable them genuinely to participate in such a task. Every belligerent nation is receiving at the hands of this war the severest possible course of instruction and discipline. Every important belligerent nation will emerge from this war a generation or perhaps a century in advance of the United States in all that pertains to national service, to national sacrifice, and to that strengthening of character which comes not from talking about ideals but from actively supporting them in the most fiery of contests. It is for the people of the United States to find ways and means of learning the lessons of the war without having to pay the awful cost in life and treasure

which military participation in it involves. Their future place in the world's history, the regard which other nations will have for them, and their own more fortunate and just development all depend upon the way in which these searching problems are solved.

### *An International Sheriff*

An international league to enforce peace by united, armed action, according to "Cosmos," is not practicable. The essential portions of his article on this subject follow:

There is at present no suggestion from any authoritative source that some sort of international Sheriff should be called into existence for the purpose of enforcing the findings of an international court of justice. It is everywhere proposed to leave this to international public opinion. There are, however, well-supported proposals that, in case any nation which has become a member of the proposed international order shall issue an ultimatum or threaten war before submitting any question which arises to an international judicial tribunal or council of conciliation, it shall be proceeded against forthwith by the other powers; first, through the use of their economic force, and, second, by the joint use of their military forces if the nation in question actually proceeds to make war or invades another's territory.

In so far as a plan of this kind is a recognition of the undoubted fact that force of some kind is the ultimate sanction in all human affairs, it is on safe ground. When, however, it proposes to make immediate practical application of this principle in the manner described, the case is by no means so clear. It is not unlikely, for example, that the adoption of such a policy would require that every war of whatever character should become in effect a world war. If it be replied that the joint forces of the other powers would be so overwhelming that no one power would venture to defy them, then one who recalls the political and military history of Europe must be permitted to doubt.

### *An Example Near Home*

On April 20, 1914, the President of the United States in a formal address to the Congress narrated certain circumstances which occurred at Tampico, Mexico, on April 9 and the days next following. Having set forth the facts concerning these incidents the President continued: "I, therefore, come to ask your approval that I should use the armed forces of the United States in such ways and to such an extent as may be necessary to obtain from General Huerta and his adherents the fullest recognition of the rights and dignity of the United States." Two days later the Congress adopted a joint resolution declaring that the President was justified in the employment of armed forces of the United States to enforce his demand for unequivocal

amends for certain affronts and indignities committed against the United States, and at the same time disclaimed on behalf of the United States any hostility to the Mexican people or any purpose to make war upon Mexico. It so happened that between the day of the President's address to the Congress and that of the passage of the joint resolution, namely, on April 21, the Admiral commanding the American Navy off Vera Cruz, acting under orders, landed a force of marines at that place and seized the Custom House. In these operations nineteen American marines were reported killed and seventy wounded, while the Mexican loss was reported to be 126 killed and 195 wounded. That legally this was an act of war can hardly be doubted.

At the time of these incidents there was in existence a treaty between the United States and Mexico which explicitly provided that any disagreement arising between the Governments of the two republics should, if possible, be settled in such manner as to preserve the state of peace and friendship that existed when the treaty was made, and that if the two Governments themselves should not be able to come to an agreement a resort should not on that account be had to reprisals, aggression, or hostility of any kind until that Government which deemed itself aggrieved should have maturely considered, in the spirit of peace and good neighborship, whether it would not be better that such difference should be settled by the arbitration of Commissioners appointed on each side or by that of a friendly nation. This provision, contained in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, proclaimed July 4, 1848, was explicitly reaffirmed in the Gadsden Treaty, proclaimed June 30, 1854.

#### *Would the Plan Have Worked?*

These being the facts, would it be the contention of those who urge the use of force to compel a power to submit its international disputes to a judicial tribunal or to a council of conciliation before making or threatening war, that had such an agreement been in existence in April, 1914, the armies and navies of Great Britain, of France, of Germany, of Russia, of Italy, and of Japan should have jointly moved against the United States? Would such action, if taken, have been likely to promote international peace or to compel prolonged and destructive international war?

Again, if it be said that with such an agreement in force the Government of the United States would not have taken the action in question, the answer must be that such an inference is, to say the least, exceedingly doubtful.

As a matter of fact, the only practical sanction of international law is the public opinion of the civilized world. Even now nations are not anxious to incur the condemnation of other peoples. Such condemnation leads to unfriendliness, and unfriendliness leads to economic and intellectual iso-

lation. These are universally disliked and dreaded. The strongest Governments are the quickest to respond, as a rule, to the judgment of international public opinion. It is in highest degree deplorable that the German Government felt itself strong enough to defy the public opinion of the world in its relation to the origin of the present war and in its conduct of it; but in so doing it departed from the precepts and the practice of Bismarck. He was always anxious that before beginning a war steps should be taken to predispose the opinion of other nations in favor of his policies and acts. That decent respect to the opinions of mankind upon which was rested the first national public act in the western world is still a powerful moving force among men and nations. It may well be doubted whether this very sanction is not more effective in securing obedience to municipal law than are the punishments which the various statutes provide.

#### *Basis of Durable Peace*

In conclusion, "Cosmos" declares that the deep underlying causes of the present war must be understood before a practical and durable peace can be discussed intelligently. "By this," he says, "is not meant the narrow question of the precise sequence of events from July 23 to Aug. 1, 1914, or the weight to be attached to any given act or word of any particular Government at that hectic time. \* \* \* The real underlying cause of the war was an irrepressible conflict between two views and ideals of national development and of civilization." Germany is fighting for an outgrown and vanishing ideal, and is destined to be defeated, says "Cosmos," but the German people will for that very reason have a still more important part to play in civilization than in the past. He concludes:

Should this war prove to be a burning up of the most powerful remnants of militarism that yet remain in the world, it will have done the German people the greatest possible service. One hundred and twenty millions of eager, active, purposeful men, living in the temperate zone and having a long tradition of heroic endeavor, cannot be reduced to nothingness by any power but their own. Stripped of the militaristic purpose and brought into harmony with the other great peoples of the world, the Germans would, it may safely be predicted, enter upon a new period of usefulness and achievement that would make the history of the last hundred years seem paltry by comparison.

A durable peace depends upon the victory of the Allies in the present war and upon

the establishment in public policy of the principles for which they are contending. It depends upon a withholding of all acts of vengeance and reprisal and the just and statesmanlike application to each specific problem that arises for settlement of the principles for which the war is being fought. It depends upon the establishment of an international order and of those international institutions that have been here sketched in outline. It depends upon a spirit of devotion to that order and to those institutions, as well as upon a fixed purpose to uphold and to

defend them. It depends upon domestic policies of justice and helpfulness, and the curbing of arrogance, greed, and privilege, so far as it is within the power of government to do so. It depends upon the exaltation of the idea of justice, not only as between men within a nation, but as between nations themselves; for durable peace is a by-product of justice. When these things are accomplished there will be every prospect of a durable peace because the essential prerequisite will have been provided—the Will to Peace.

## History of Past Efforts to Enforce Peace

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[Written for THE NEW YORK TIMES]

THE universal solicitude that such calamities as the present great war shall not again afflict the earth, expressed in the formation of such organizations as the League to Enforce Peace and other bodies, recalls many similar movements during the last 200 years to accomplish the same object.

The most notable of the earlier ones was that launched by the Abbé Saint-Pierre following the Peace of Utrecht of 1713. The period between the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 and the Peace of Utrecht had been one of almost uninterrupted war, largely growing out of the Spanish succession. The Abbé Saint-Pierre had been present at the conference of Utrecht, and was deeply imbued with the necessity of reclaiming Europe from the waste and misery which its conflicts occasioned.

In 1729 he published his *Projet de Paix perpetuelle*, and, not scrupling to clothe it with a compelling force, falsely attributed the project to his sovereign, Henry IV. of France, and his Minister, Sully. This project attempted to found universal peace upon the principle of the fixedness of the state of possessor of territories established by the Peace of Utrecht and its confirmation of applicable articles of the Peace of Westphalia. It likewise proposed the institution of a permanent Grand Assembly of the powers, through plenipotentiaries, to which monthly con-

tributions were to be made to meet the common expenses. Each State was to renounce the right of making war, submitting to arbitration in the event of differences, and in turn to have its territories guaranteed by the others. There were nineteen powers in all, each entitled to a single vote in the Grand Assembly, three-fourths of which should control in all matters. Any offending power was liable to be coerced jointly by the others to cause compliance with the obligations of association. Europe was not ready, however, for such a confederation.

Closely following in the footsteps of Saint-Pierre appeared Rousseau, as deeply imbued with the sentiment of peace, who, in 1761, published his *Extrait du Projet de Paix perpetuelle de M. l'Abbé de Saint-Pierre*. Rousseau elaborated the principles of his predecessor and illuminated them with his peculiar genius. He says:

If social institutions had been the work of reason and not of passion and prejudice, mankind would not have so long failed to perceive that their existing organization creates a social relation between the citizens of the same State, while it leaves them in a state of nature toward all the rest of the human race.

If there be any practicable means of avoiding these evils they must be sought for in the establishment of confederations by which distinct communities may be united together in the same manner as the individual members of a particular State are now united in one society.

The next ardent advocate of universal peace appeared in England in the person of Jeremy Bentham, who, in 1786, published a work similar to Saint-Pierre's and Rousseau's. His doctrine was likewise founded upon confederation, citing as practical examples on a smaller scale the armed neutrality of 1780, the American Confederation, the German Confederation, and the Swiss League. He, however, introduced the novel suggestion of reduction of armaments and the emancipation of colonies by all of the European States. He conceived colonial possessions to furnish by far the most frequent causes and objects of war. He proposed likewise a codification of the unwritten rules of international law and a harmonizing or unification of all doubtful or conflicting rules by convention. In this respect at least, he anticipated the work of The Hague Conferences.

The interest in universal peace soon thereafter, in 1795, manifested itself in Germany with the powerful support of the philosopher of Königsberg, Emanuel Kant, who likewise considered a general confederation as the *sine qua non* to the accomplishment of the object. As a condition precedent, however, he declares that every adhering State should be republican in form, which he defines as a government where every citizen participates, by his representatives, in the exercise of the legislative power, and especially in that of deciding on questions of peace and war. But, according to Kant, a republican form must not be confounded with a demo-

cratic form of government, since, according to his view, democracy excludes representation, is inevitably despotic, eventuating in tyranny by the majority.

The worthy efforts of Kant, however, were soon to be countered by the younger philosopher, Hegel, who may be considered the founder of the later school of German philosophers, typified by von Treitschke. Hegel declared that war ought not to be considered as an absolute evil, and as an accidental event, the origin of which is to be attributed to the passions of Princes and people.

It will be seen from these speculations that the propaganda in our own time contains little that is new, but on the contrary has borrowed very largely from our predecessors. When Saint-Pierre conceived a confederation of European States as the prerequisite to peace he meant such a system merely as a means whereby international law might acquire a coercive sanction. That is still the great defect of the law, to supply which is still the primary aim of all movements calculated to preserve the order of the world.

And yet the fact must not be lost sight of that when the public law of nations ultimately acquires a coercive sanction its character as a human institution is not changed; that it will then be liable to the abuses of power no less than the present state permits of the abuses of weakness. The golden mean between anarchy and tyranny will come only through the slow and halting processes of civilization.

## Rising Tide of Democracy in Germany One Cause of War

Dr. Henry Dwight Sedgwick, a distinguished American historian and essayist, has commented upon the "Cosmos" letters in an article in which he maintains that an understanding of the causes of the war is essential in effecting a rational peace. He predicates his argument on the assumption that the military party in Prussia "deliberately played a bully's part that meant war unless the rest of Europe was to cringe and slink away."

*Dr. Sedgwick cites "two reasons which urged the military party in Prussia to play the bully," and proceeds to discuss them:*

THE first reason may be called the traditional military policy of Prussia; this policy proceeds upon the theory that in this world, still not well organ-

ized, still uncivilized, the best organized, the most civilized element in it should control the rest, and that this best element can only acquire such control by military force. This theory is justified by the history of Prussia during the last 200 years, which is a history of the successful use of military organization in acquiring dominion over less well organized rivals. Extension of political dominion, of course, secures and extends the power of the Hohenzollern dynasty, of the military party, and of the capitalistic class as a whole.

The second reason is the apprehension entertained by the military and capitalistic classes of the rising power of the Social Democracy. The figures of the Social Democratic vote should not be forgotten:

Year.	Vote.
1871	124,655
1877	493,288
1887	763,128
1898	2,107,076
1907	3,259,020
1912	4,250,329

At this rate of increase it was almost possible to calculate at just what coming election the Social Democrats would have a majority in the Reichstag and be able to refuse the taxes necessary to keep the military party in power. The program of the party states: "The battle of the working class against capitalistic exploitation is necessarily a political battle. The working class cannot carry on its economic battles or develop its economic organization without political rights. It cannot effect the passing of the means of production into the ownership of the community without acquiring political power. To shape this battle of the working class into a conscious and united effort, and to show it its naturally necessary end, is the object of the Social Democratic Party." And among their immediate demands are: "Self-government of the people in empire, State, province, and commune. Authorities to be elected by the people; to be responsible and bound. \* \* \* Settlement of all international disputes by the method of arbitration. \* \* \* Abolition of all indirect taxes, customs, and other politico-economic measures which sacrifice the interests of the whole community to

the interests of a favored minority." But indeed no quotations are necessary to show that the principles of the Social Democracy are totally opposed to the principles by which the Hohenzollerns and the military party remain in power. The growing vote was like the handwriting on Belshazzar's wall. Everybody knows that a successful foreign war is the surest method of strengthening a conservative party in power. ?

And what does Liebknecht say? "The German Government in its social and historical composition is an instrument for the oppression and exploitation of the working masses; it serves the interest of the Junkertum, of capitalism, and imperialism, both at home and abroad. It is the unrestrained representative of the policy of worldwide expansion and the strongest promoter of competitive armament, and, therefore, of one of the most important factors in the creation of the causes of the present war. In partnership with the Austrian Government it plotted to bring about this war, and thus burdened itself with the principal responsibility for its immediate outbreak."

Now, if this hypothesis of the cause of the war (as most Americans believe) be true, then the primary cause of the war is the military party in Prussia, with the Hohenzollern dynasty at its head. Mr. Asquith so thinks, for he stated that Great Britain would not sheathe her sword "until the military domination of Prussia is wholly and finally destroyed." M. Treppoff is reported to have said to the Duma: "The war must continue until German militarism is destroyed"; M. Briand has used similar language. And, as Dr. Prince says, "the people of England and France are literally inspired, as by a religion, to make no peace until Prussian militarism is destroyed." And this is also what the President of the United States must mean by his recent words: "Throughout the last two years there has come more and more into my heart the conviction that peace is going to come to the world only with liberty. \* \* \* Peace cannot come so long as the destinies of men are determined by small groups who make selfish choices of their own."

Such being the causes of the war, (ac-

cording to this hypothesis,) it is necessary, in Mr. Asquith's phrase, to destroy the military domination of Prussia, or, in Mr. Wilson's, to overthrow the small group of men whose selfish choices directly or indirectly caused the war. This is the cure, and the only cure, for the malady of war. But as it is obvious that the present Government of Germany would not consent to self-annihilation, and as it is also obvious that the Allies, even if they were to march into Berlin, could not set up a stable government of their own choice in Germany, it will be necessary for the Allies to continue pressure by force from without and by want within until the Social Democrats or the proletariat shall rise of themselves, put down the military party, and take the Government into their own hands.

If the Social Democrats were in power all questions as to terms of peace would virtually adjust themselves, for such a Government would be in accord with England, France, and the United States. Belgium would be evacuated, Alsace-Lorraine decide its own fate, Poland be granted self-government, the German colonies in Africa could safely be given

back, rules as to war by land and sea agreed upon, an international tribunal for the settlement of quarrels established, &c.

"Cosmos" agrees that "Prussian militarism must be wholly and finally destroyed"; but his theory is that the war should end first, after some such readjustments as he has suggested, and that Europe may then intrust the task of destroying Prussian militarism to the German people. This is indeed to dance a minuet with the phantoms of hope. Left to themselves, the Hohenzollerns, Junkers, soldiers, and capitalists would persuade the nation that they, by their military policy, by their military preparations, had saved the nation from subjugation; and the traditional belief of Prussia that might alone is to be trusted would be drunk in by every baby with its mother's milk.

No; the bitter conclusion seems unavoidable, the war must continue until after the Germans themselves shall have effected a political revolution. That is the situation that confronts the American Government and the American people today.

## The Eloquent Dead

By ALAN SEEGER

[Alan Seeger, an American poet who died fighting in France, left a volume of war poems (published by Scribner) which will long keep his memory alive.]

There, holding still, in frozen steadfastness,  
Their bayonets toward the beckoning frontiers,  
They lie—our comrades—lie among their peers,  
Clad in the glory of fallen warriors,  
Grim clusters under thorny trellises.  
Dry, furthest foam upon disastrous shores,  
Leaves that made last year beautiful, still strewn  
Even as they fell, unchanged, beneath the changing moon;  
And earth in her divine indifference  
Rolls on, and many paltry things and mean  
Prate to be heard and caper to be seen.  
But they are silent, calm; their eloquence  
Is that incomparable attitude;  
No human presences their witness are,  
But Summer clouds and sunset crimson hued,  
And showers and night winds and the northern star.  
Nay, even our salutations seem profane,  
Opposed to their Elysian quietude;  
Our salutations calling from afar,  
From our ignoble plane  
And undistinction of our lesser parts:  
Hail, brothers, and farewell; you are twice blessed, brave hearts.

# How Other Wars Ended

By Charles Willis Thompson

*Of the Editorial Staff of The New York Times*

**T**HREE is no exact parallel in modern wars for Germany's action—an undefeated belligerent asking her adversaries to meet her and discuss unformulated terms of peace. The impression, however, that nations desiring to end a war generally avail themselves of the offer of some friendly neutral to act as mediator is utterly unfounded, though a great deal of the talk about the possible action of the United States in such a way has proceeded as if that were the almost invariable rule.

When England desired to end the war with the Colonies she began by sending separate negotiators to the French Government and to the American Commissioners in Paris. The latter, though positively commanded by Congress to negotiate no peace without the participation of their French allies, did sign a separate treaty, though with the reservation that it should not go into effect until France had made peace. They then informed the French Government, which accepted the terms.

The Napoleonic peace treaties usually began with an armistice. The most famous, the Treaty of Tilsit, was brought about by a personal meeting between Napoleon and Alexander I. on a raft in the middle of the River Niemen to agree upon an armistice which the Czar had already sought. An armistice was also agreed upon after the battle of Lützen, but Napoleon would not agree to the allies' terms and resumed hostilities. His fall in 1814 was accompanied by no negotiations; the allies were actually in Paris. Napoleon's Generals persuaded him to sign an act of abdication, and the French Senate dethroned him.

The way to the Peace of Ghent, which ended the War of 1812, was paved by an offer of the Czar to act as mediator, though it was rejected. In rejecting it, Lord Castlereagh let it be known that he was willing to negotiate directly with the United States. The United States gladly

accepted and sent Commissioners, but England neglected to appoint envoys until long afterward, when her troubles had become so great that she was desirous of peace.

In the Mexican war President Polk was always anxious for peace, but his envoys were not accepted. At last he went so far as to send an envoy, Nicholas P. Trist, along with Scott's army, authorized to treat with Mexico the moment that country was willing to do so. Scott quarreled with Trist and refused to transmit his letter to the Mexican Government, and Trist had to get the British Minister to forward it. After repeated failures and rebuffs, he finally got in touch with Commissioners appointed by a new Government which had succeeded Santa Ana, but not until Polk had ordered his recall. He disregarded this order and negotiated the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.

On the death of Czar Nicholas I., his successor, Alexander II., announced to the Courts of Europe his desire that the Crimean war should end, and this is the nearest approach to a parallel with Germany's action today. A peace conference was held in Vienna, but in three months it was broken off and the war resumed. The war went on until Austria, a neutral power, threatened to join the allies unless the Czar accepted her ultimatum. He at first refused, but a personal letter from the neutral King of Prussia induced him to reconsider, and the final peace conference was held.

The war of Italy, France, and Austria in 1859 was terminated in a surprising fashion by an armistice agreed on personally between Napoleon III. and Franz Josef, just as the French and Italian armies were in the full tide of success. Victor Emmanuel was forced to agree, and the terms of the armistice were embodied in a peace treaty.

The war between Prussia and Denmark in 1864 came abruptly to an end

when the Danes learned that neither England nor France would help them. They dismissed their War Ministry from office and sent proposals for a truce directly to Berlin and Vienna.

The terms of peace between the United States and the Confederacy were arranged by Generals in the field.

In the war between Austria, Prussia, and Italy in 1866, Franz Josef, after his defeats at Königgrätz and elsewhere, informed Napoleon III. of his willingness to cede Venetia to Italy and his desire that Napoleon be mediator. Napoleon accepted, and Bismarck drafted the terms and sent them to Napoleon, who, as mediator, accepted them. An armistice followed.

In 1870 the French Government which succeeded Napoleon III. asked first for an armistice, then for peace, but the requests were declined and the siege of Paris began. After the surrender of Paris the Germans consented to an armistice to permit the election of a National Assembly which it could recognize. The preliminaries of peace were agreed on between Bismarck and Thiers at Versailles, and the treaty followed at Frankfort.

The Russo-Turkish war was cut short by England's threat to enter it. Russia arranged an armistice immediately and negotiated the Treaty of San Stefano directly with Turkey. England, backed by France and Austria, refused to recognize it, and the Congress of Berlin was summoned; but before it met the Czar had negotiated a secret treaty with England embodying most of the agreements subsequently made there.

China made two approaches to Japan while the war of 1894 was going on, but through envoys who had no proper credentials, and Japan refused to treat with them. When China was wholly defeated and the Japanese armies about to march on Peking, the empire sent Li Hung Chang with proper credentials to Shi-

monoseki, and the treaty was at once drawn up.

Russia put an end to the Turco-Grecian war of 1897 by peremptorily ordering an armistice just as the victorious Turks were marching on Central Greece.

The Spanish-American war of 1898 closed when Spain, on July 26, made overtures to the United States through Cambon, the French Ambassador at Washington. Seventeen days later the protocol was signed.

The Boer war ended in an unprecedented way. The members of the Transvaal Government rode into Middleburg and requested to be sent to Lord Kitchener to arrange peace terms with him. He met them but held that because of the peculiar character of the Boer Army the men in the field would have to be consulted if any assurance of peace was to be given. Steyn, De Wet, and Delarey went to the commandos, explained the situation to them, and each body in the field chose two delegates to meet at Vereeniging and decide the matter by vote.

President Roosevelt brought the Russo-Japanese war to an end by sending, on June 8, 1905, identical dispatches to both Governments urging that they enter into peace negotiations. Both accepted, and sent envoys to the United States to negotiate the Treaty of Portsmouth.

An armistice in the first Balkan war was ended by a breaking off of negotiations. The powers then agreed upon terms and offered mediation. A second armistice was signed, but Montenegro would not join it and went on with the war. She captured Scutari, but Austria took it away from her, and the second peace conference, which was successful, met in London.

The ways of ending wars, therefore, are various. Mediation has played an infinitesimal part in the wars of the last century and a half; and direct application by one belligerent to others, save in cases of utter defeat, has few precedents.

# Armenia and Civilization

By R. H. Kazanjan

*An Armenian Now Living in This Country*

**I**N the history of the struggles and triumphs of various nations the world is thrilled with the romance of conquest and exploration, of revolutions sweeping over the land, of dynasties that rise, flourish, and pass away. From these annals emerge the heroes, immortal names upon the scroll of national honor: great men and women whose personality and appearance are preserved by the genius of sculptors and the skill of painters. All this gives birth to that peculiar pride which we call patriotism, and which in turn renders a nation's flag a sacred emblem.

It is therefore with a species of sad surprise that we contemplate a people, superior in every way, chronologically the first Christians in the world, highly educated, enterprising, ambitious, who after twenty-five centuries of existence are without unity as a nation.

I am referring, of course, to the Armenians. Peaceable, law-abiding, eager to amass wealth and acquire culture, they have ever turned their attention to the arts and crafts rather than to arms and conquest. The result has been endless persecution through the ages, until today Armenia may be regarded as a vast community sacrificed upon the altar of barbarity and greed.

During the last six centuries the tormentors have been the Turks, whose cruelty has outdone all the others. They have confiscated or demolished property, despoiled women, massacred Armenians by the thousand, and prevented them from developing the great resources of their fatherland.

It is high time the world should know the truth concerning the whole Turkish Empire. Its people are practically without ambition, almost devoid of commercial energy, and steeped in a religion that is the very quintessence of predestination. "Whatever is to be is to be. So what is the use?" That which was

good enough for their forebears is good enough for them. Such is their attitude toward progress. They have always regarded with a mixture of envy, spite, and suspicion any innovations the unfortunate Armenians attempted to inaugurate. Such evidences of advanced civilization—railroads, quays, great buildings, modern inventions—as are to be found in Turkey today have been forced upon them by foreigners and constructed by foreign engineers; and the Turks have tolerated them because the building of such vast improvements offered great opportunities for graft.

During the last generation or so extraordinary care has been taken by the crafty Turk to conceal the true condition of his depraved country. Wealthy and influential tourists, as well as gifted writers, have been led astray, deliberately misinformed by the oily tongues of diplomats and officials. The result has been numerous books, stories, and reports of "the delightful home life," the "clean Turkish baths," the magnificent cities and the pleasing aspect which romantic Turkey presents to the world. In many instances, no doubt, writers have been well paid to convey these "impressions," and along with them misrepresentations concerning the character and status of the Armenians. The latter have been pictured as mutinous, troublesome, filled with treachery and deceit, lacking in national faith and patriotism, their only thought being to accumulate riches at the expense of the poor Turk. The world must now learn that most of these were honeyed lies.

In his executive capacity the Turk has always been a tyrant. Look into the history of his relations with the Bulgarians, the Syrians, the Persians, the Greeks: you will find oppression, tyranny, everywhere; only he has treated the Armenians with the greatest severity, for the reason that the descendants of Haig have never

been able to fight back to any great extent. They have never been permitted to organize themselves into a State or nation of their own, with an adequate army at their command. Since the days of their lost kingdom, centuries ago, the Armenians have been merely a helpless part of the Ottoman Empire, subject to unjust taxation, plundered, and murdered at irregular intervals. That the civilized world should have stood aside, as it were, and allowed such a gigantic exhibition of injustice to go on is a circumstance calculated to impair one's faith in human nature. All the printer's ink in Christendom and all the eloquence of diplomats plenipotentiary cannot blot out the crimson stains that redden the pages of Turkish history during these shameful centuries.

If coming events cast their shadows before them, it would seem to an observant person that the opportunity is soon to be given to certain leading powers to redeem themselves by securing for Armenia the independence to which that country is rightfully entitled. Let us hope they will do this, and do it cheerfully.

In this connection one cannot help wondering just what Germany's attitude is toward Armenia and what is to be Armenia's fate in the event Germany is finally triumphant. It is to be hoped her conscience and her heart will be touched, after having witnessed so much distress, both at home and among the enemies with whom she has fought, and that, as a result, she will do her share in freeing forever the Armenian people from the thralldom in which they have been held.

I am sure the opinion is widespread that England is the logical nation to intervene in Armenia's behalf. During the last four decades, beginning with the treaty of Berlin in 1878, Great Britain has had brilliant opportunities to bring about much-needed reforms in Turkey. But for reasons that (with a little study) will become obvious to the reader, England has always acted in such a half-hearted manner as to leave the Turks free to continue their dastardly course.

Had a people as energetic and resourceful as the Armenians been able to realize

their ambition to become an independent nation, and had they long since organized an efficient army of nearly a million men, what a different state of affairs might now be prevailing in the eastern theatre of the present war! Allied with France or England, they could have given efficient service against the Turks on many a "front," and perhaps materially changed the aspect of things. For the Armenians are great warriors when given the opportunity. There is a saying among the Turks: "Let not fifty Armenians get together, armed. They will conquer the world!"

Another country that should aid materially in gaining independence for Armenia is Russia. In a manner of speaking, Russia owes it to the Armenians to lend her assistance; for did she not at one time promise this very thing?

Soon after the war began the Turks attempted to induce a large number of Armenians to join the two million or more of their fellow-exiles in Russia, create a reign of terror and revolution in that country, and, if possible, deliver vast numbers of Russian soldiers into the hands of the Turks. This the Armenians indignantly refused to do, becoming so disgusted with the tactics of the Turkish Government that many thousands, already drafted into the army, deserted, while every Armenian that could manage to do so got out of the country and enlisted in foreign armies.

There are millions of Armenians scattered throughout the civilized world who would welcome an opportunity to return to their native land.

Eminently able to govern themselves, they deserve to have the same independence that has been enjoyed for hundreds of years by nationalities hardly their equal in intelligence and ambition. They want the whole world to know the truth: how for untold generations the Turks have ground them beneath the heel of oppression, woefully retarding the progress of the entire country. It is time some great power intervened and brought to an end the spectacle of a brutal people trampling the very souls out of human beings infinitely their superiors.

## The Last Stand of the Armenians

LORD BRYCE'S report on the Armenian massacres, parts of which appeared in the November issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, has been published by the British Government as a Blue Book, with indorsements as to its essential truth from Viscount Grey, H. A. L. Fisher, Professor Gilbert Murray, and Moorfield Storey. It places the total of deaths at 600,000. The following passage from the narrative of a survivor of the Sassoun massacre is a dramatic record of the last desperate attempt of the Armenians to defend themselves:

"The Armenians were compelled to abandon the outlying lines of their defense and were retreating day by day into the heights of Antok, the central block of the mountains, some 10,000 feet high. The non-combatant women and children and their large flocks of cattle greatly hampered the free movements of the defenders, whose number had already been reduced from 3,000 to about half that figure. Terrible confusion prevailed during the Turkish attacks, as well as the Armenian counterattacks. Many of the Armenians smashed their rifles after

firing the last cartridge, and grasped their revolvers and daggers. The Turkish regulars and Kurds, amounting now to something like 30,000 altogether, pushed higher and higher up the heights and surrounded the main Armenian position at close quarters.

"Then followed one of those desperate and heroic struggles for life which have always been the pride of mountaineers. Men, women, and children fought with knives, scythes, stones, and anything else they could handle. They rolled blocks of stone down the steep slopes, killing many of the enemy. In a frightful hand-to-hand combat women were seen thrusting their knives into the throats of Turks, and thus accounting for many of them. On Aug. 5, the last day of the fighting, the bloodstained rocks of Antok were captured by the Turks. The Armenian warriors of Sassoun, except those who had worked round to the rear of the Turks to attack them on their flanks, had died in battle. Several young women who were in danger of falling into the Turks' hands threw themselves from the rocks, some of them with their infants in their arms."

## Horrors of Armenian Encampments

Story of an Eyewitness

THOUSANDS of exiled Armenians are held in Turkish prison camps in the Valley of the Euphrates and in Northern Arabia and Syria. The first neutral to visit these camps (he is not an American) has written a report of what he saw and handed it to the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief, which vouches for the reliability of the witness. The writer of the report says that he was permitted to visit the Armenian encampments all along the Euphrates, and was able to see and to gather data concerning the exiles.

"It is impossible," he writes, "to give an account of the impression of horror which my journey across the Armenian

encampments scattered all along the Euphrates has given me, especially those on the right bank, between Meskene and Der-i-Zor. These can hardly be called encampments, because of the fact that the majority of these unfortunate people, brutally dragged out of their native land, torn from their homes and families, robbed of their effects upon their departure or en route, are penned up in the open like cattle, without shelter, almost no clothing, and irregularly fed with food altogether insufficient."

The writer says that the remnants of the Armenian Nation disseminated along the Euphrates are composed of old men and women and children.

"Meskene, through its geographical position on the border between Syria and Mesopotamia," the writer continues, "is the natural point of concentration of deported Armenians coming from the vilayets of Anatolia and sent afterward all along the Euphrates. They arrive there by the thousands, but the majority leave their bones there. The impression which this immense and dismal plain of Meskene leaves is sad. This information was obtained on the spot, and permit me to state that nearly 60,000 Armenians are buried there, carried off by hunger, by privations of all sorts, by intestinal diseases and resultant typhus. As far as the eye can reach mounds are seen containing 200 or 300 corpses buried in the ground pell mell, women, children and old people belonging to different families. At present nearly 4,500 Armenians are kept between the town of Meskene and the Euphrates. These are but living phantoms.

"I saw under a tent of five or six square meters about 450 orphans. These poor children receive 150 grams of bread a day. However, at times, and this is more often the case, they remain two days without eating anything. Death makes cruel ravages among them. This tent was sheltering 450 victims while I was passing through. Eight days afterward, upon my return, disease had carried off seventeen of them.

"Abou Herrera is a small place north of Meskene on the bank of the Euphrates. It is the worst part of the desert. On a small hill 200 meters from the river are confined 240 Armenians under the surveillance of two gendarmes."

Similar conditions of suffering were found at Hamman, where there were 1,600 Armenians; at Rekka, where there were 6,000, and at Zierrat, where 1,800 were encamped. In conclusion, the writer says:

"I believe there are some 15,000 Armenians scattered about all along the Euphrates between Meskene and Der-i-Zor, passing through Rekka. As I have already said, these unfortunate people, abandoned, ill-treated by the authorities, are gradually dying of starvation. Win-

ter cold and dampness will add their victims to those of famine. If funds are not sent, these unfortunate people are doomed."

The London Times has received the personal narratives of two Mussulmans whose former official standing is known and whose veracity has been tested by personal examination.

"In the month of August, 1915," relates one of these eye witnesses, "at about two hours from Zaart I saw masses of Armenian bodies piled up in two ravines. I estimated the number at about 15,000. I learned that the Armenian Bishop of Zaart was not killed with the others, but at his own request had been shot in a cave near by. On my way back from Zaart to Mush there were 500 Armenians herded together in a stable near Mush and locked in. Through an opening in the roof gendarmes threw flaming torches. I saw the flames and heard the screams of the victims, all of whom were burned alive.

"At Mush the streets were strewn with Armenian bodies. Whenever an Armenian ventured out he was killed on the spot. Neither old, blind, nor sick was spared.

"On the way from Mush to Hinis I saw headless Armenian bodies at short intervals in the fields by the roadside. Between Hinis and Sherkiskeui I saw two ravines filled with Armenian corpses, mostly men. There were about 400 in each ravine."

The second eyewitness was stationed at Erzerum in April, 1915, when the order came from Constantinople that the Armenians should be deported to the interior. He says:

"At Kamach I saw in prison a Kurdish chieftain, Mursa Bey. I asked him why he was there. He said:

"'I have killed 70,000 Armenians, and now they have arrested me for striking a gendarme.'

"He was afterward secretly executed."

This eyewitness says he saw no German officers actually connected with massacres, but that the German military authorities in Turkey knew of them and made no attempt to stop them.

# Progress of the War

Recording Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events  
From December 12, 1916, Up to and Including  
January 11, 1917

## CAMPAIGN IN EASTERN EUROPE

Dec. 15—Germans attack Russian lines in the region of Zubilno, in Volhynia.  
Dec. 17—Germans take part of Russian trench in the region of Dolchi Porsk and Maly Porsk on the Kovel front.  
Dec. 20—Russians operating in the region of the River Bystritsa penetrate into Bohorodczany Stare.  
Dec. 21—Russians check Teuton advance in the Zlota Lipa region.  
Dec. 23—Russians drive back German scouts near Baranovichi.  
Dec. 27—Germans repulsed in attack near Little Porsk.  
Dec. 31—Skirmishes in Galicia northwest of Zborow.  
Jan. 3—Germans bombard several villages in the direction of Zalogev.  
Jan. 5—Germans take possession of an island in the Dvina River east of Glaudan.  
Jan. 6—Russians repel attacks east of the Drul Swamp in the Riga sector.  
Jan. 8—Russians capture enemy trenches south of Lake Babit.  
Jan. 10—Russians on the Riga front capture a position between the Tirul marsh and the River Aa.

## BALKAN CAMPAIGN

Dec. 12—Austro-German forces in Wallachia occupy the towns of Mizil and Urziceni; Russians renew offensive in the wooded Carpathians and along the Moldavian frontier.  
Dec. 13—Russians capture a line of trenches on heights to the south of Agusulia in the region of the Trotus Valley; Bulgars shell Monastir.  
Dec. 14—Mackensen's army crosses the River Jalomita in Eastern Wallachia.  
Dec. 15—Teutons capture the town of Buzeu; Bulgarian forces cross the Danube near Futesti.  
Dec. 17—Teutons cross the Buzeu and the lower Calmatuiul Rivers in Eastern Wallachia.  
Dec. 18—Russians check Teuton offensive and form defense line between Rimnik-Sarat and the Danube marshes; Teutons in Northern Dobrudja cross the line between Babadagh and Pecineaga.  
Dec. 19—Russians and Rumanians in Dobrudja continue their retreat and approach the lower Danube.  
Dec. 20—Russians and Rumanians repel attacks made in the direction of Parilita on the Danube.  
Dec. 22—Russians forced back in Northern

Dobrudja; Bulgarians attacked to the east of Lake Babadagh and thrown into Lake Ibolata; many drowned.

Dec. 23—Teutonic troops in Dobrudja take several Russian rear-guard positions and occupy Tulcea; entire province cleared of Rumanian and Russian forces except the terrain between Matchin and Isakcha.

Dec. 24—Teutons capture Isakcha.

Dec. 25—Teutons capture Tultcha in Dobrudja and begin attack on the bridgehead at Matchin; Russians repel attacks north of the Uzul Valley in Moldavia.

Dec. 27—Russians defeated on wide front in Eastern Wallachia, and the town of Rimnik-Sarat captured; Teutons make progress in attack against Matchin bridgehead in Dobrudja.

Dec. 28—Braila, in Northeastern Wallachia, is under fire of German-Bulgarian cannon from across the Danube; fierce fighting in Dobrudja.

Dec. 29—Teutons push on northwest of Rimnik-Sarat, take the town of Ratchelu in Dobrudja, and advance in Moldavia.

Dec. 30—Teutons take Russo-Rumanian trenches on the Transylvanian front; Falkenhayn's men push forward north and northeast of Rimnik-Sarat.

Dec. 31—Russians thrown back to the bridgehead of Braila in Wallachia; Russian points east of Matchin have been captured.

Jan. 1—Austro-Germans on the Moldavian front capture several heights and two towns in the Zabella Valley; Russo-Rumanians defeated in Wallachia near Rimnik-Sarat; Danube army fights for Braila bridgehead.

Jan. 2—Rumanians regain ground in the Kasino River sector.

Jan. 3—Teutons capture the towns of Matchin and Jijila in Northern Dobrudja and Barsesti and Topesci on the Moldavian front.

Jan. 4—Russians pierce Teutons' lines south of the Botochi Mountain in the Carpathians; Russian forces in Dobrudja withdraw toward Braila across the Danube in Wallachia.

Jan. 5—Germans and Bulgars take Braila in Wallachia, Slobozio and Rotesti in the Rimnik-Sarat sector, and Gurgueti and Romanul south of the Buzeu.

Jan. 6—Teutons storm Russian defenses on an extended front south of the Trotus Valley, capture five more towns near Braila, and reach the Sereth River at two points.

Jan. 7—Russians recover lost positions near Fokshani, occupy main mass of Mount Odobechti, and press on in the Oituz region.

Jan. 9—Teuton troops storm defenses on both sides of the Kasino and Suchitza Valley and capture the town of Galreaska.

Jan. 10—Teutons drive Russians back further along the Kasino Valley and gain a footing on the left bank of the Putna River north of Fokshani.

Jan. 11—Rumanians and Russians pressed back southeast of Monestar-Kachinul on the River Kasino and northeast of Kempirule de Sus on the River Suchitza; Teutons cross the River Putna in the region of Svedeschi.

#### CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE

Dec. 12—Germans repulsed in attack near Lassigny, south of the Somme sector.

Dec. 15—French, in big drive north of Douaumont, break through German lines on a six-mile front, from the Meuse River to the plain of the Woëvre, penetrating to a depth of nearly two miles, and capture Vacherauville, Louvemont, Chambrettes Farm, and field works at Hardaumont and Bezonnaux.

Dec. 16—French capture the Village of Bezonnaux and push forward their lines in the Caurières Wood.

Dec. 18—French driven out of Chambrettes Farm, but retake it.

Dec. 21—British penetrate advanced German positions north of Arras, but are ejected.

Dec. 28—Gun duels renewed north of Verdun.

Dec. 29—German troops transferred from the Somme front enter French positions on Hill 304 and on the southern slope of Dead Man Hill.

Jan. 2—British report repulse of Germans in trench raids near Vermelles and Ypres.

Jan. 4—Violent artillery action near Souain and in the Verdun sector.

Jan. 6—British seize two hostile posts north of Beaumont-Hamel.

Jan. 7—Germans repulsed in attack at Beaumont.

Jan. 8—Germans repulsed near Arras.

Jan. 10—British seize a German trench north of the Ancre, east of Beaumont-Hamel.

#### ITALIAN CAMPAIGN

Dec. 14—Artillery duels in the Pesadeno area and on the Asiago Plateau in the Trentino, in the Plava sector, and on the Carso Plateau.

Dec. 20—Italians silence Austrian batteries in the Arsa Valley and disperse Austrian troops in the Carso.

Dec. 23—Italians repulse Austrian attacks on the Maso Torrent in the Sugana Valley.

Jan. 5—Italians repulse violent Austrian assault near Lake Garda.

#### ASIA MINOR AND EGYPT

Dec. 15—British troops take the offensive in the region of Kut-el-Amara and occupy Turkish positions on the Hai River.

Dec. 22—British capture El Arish in Egypt.

Dec. 25—British capture strong Turkish position at Maghdadah.

Dec. 26—British advance on the right bank of the Tigris and destroy Gassabs fort.

Dec. 27—Turks assume the offensive in the region of Petrakolai in Armenia, but are driven back in the region of Charafkhan, west of Mush.

Jan. 3—British repulsed by Turks in attack on Inam Muhamed, on the Tigris front

Jan. 10—British Indian troops take Turkish trenches on a front of 1,000 yards east of Kut-el-Amara.

Jan. 11—British capture six lines of intrenchments covering the town of Rofa.

#### AERIAL RECORD

Aerial operations were renewed on a large scale on the western front. The Allies shelled blast furnaces at Dillingen and railroad stations at Montmedy and Pierrepont, east of Longuyon. In one day, Dec. 29, ten German machines were destroyed.

Two German airplanes were brought down in the region of Porskaia Vulka, in the east.

British naval airplanes wrecked the railway bridge over the Maritza River at Kuleli Burgas.

A British seaplane squadron destroyed the Chicaldar Bridge on the Bagdad Railway, east of Adana.

#### NAVAL RECORD

Forty-eight vessels, belligerent and neutral, have been destroyed by submarines in the war zone within a month.

In the Mediterranean Sea, the British transport Ivernia, the British warship Cornwallis, the French armored cruiser Gaulois, and the British horse transport Russian were torpedoed. Seventeen American muleteers were lost on the Russian.

#### MISCELLANEOUS

Greece has accepted further demands of the Allies concerning the removal of troops and war material, but has protested to them against the tolerance by the allied naval authorities of the revolutionary movement. The Allies on Dec. 31 made new demands for reparation for past acts and guarantees that would make it impossible for Constantine's Government to hamper further the Allies' campaign in Macedonia.

The Turkish Government, in a communication addressed to Germany and Austria-Hungary, proclaimed her independence of the suzerainty of the great powers of Europe, repudiated the Treaty of Paris and the Treaty of Berlin, and abolished the special status of the Liva of Lebanon.

# THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS

[German Cartoon]

## A Chance



THREE EXILED KINGS—IN CHORUS: "What! they have set up a throne?  
Then I will offer my kit of royal tools."

—© Simplicissimus, Munich.

[Russian Cartoon]

## The Bloody Deluge



—From *Loukomorye, Petrograd.*

KAISER: "I hope that peace dove will return in time."

[English Cartoons]

## The German Peace Dove



—From *The Westminster Gazette*.

BETHMANN HOLLWEG: "Now remember, you've got to look like a dove."



—From *Sunday Telegraph, London*.

THE BRUTE INSIDE: "Va-at?!!—You *tont* like my sweet, chentle, leedle tove?!!—zen must I my life-like, most peastly rebresentation of a boisonous rebtile again gif!!!—and vor-rse!!!"

[German Cartoon]

## If Lloyd George Had His Way



—© *Simplicissimus, Munich.*

ANGEL: "I bring you peace at last."

MEN OF WARRING NATIONS: "Thanks, awfully—we have it already."

[French Cartoon]

## The "War Brides" of Lille



*—From a lithograph by Steinlen in Cartoons Magazine.*

Under the Heel.

[Spanish Cartoon]

## Freedom for Poland



—From *Iberia*, Barcelona.

POLAND: "And what must I put into that?"  
GERMAN LIBERATOR: "Your head!"

[Spanish Cartoon]

## The Stepmother of Poland



—From *Esquella de la Torratxa*, Barcelona.

GERMANY: "Now who will say I do not love you!"

[French Cartoon]

## At the Pearly Gates

"Before his death, Francis Joseph received the special benediction of the Holy Father."  
—News dispatch.



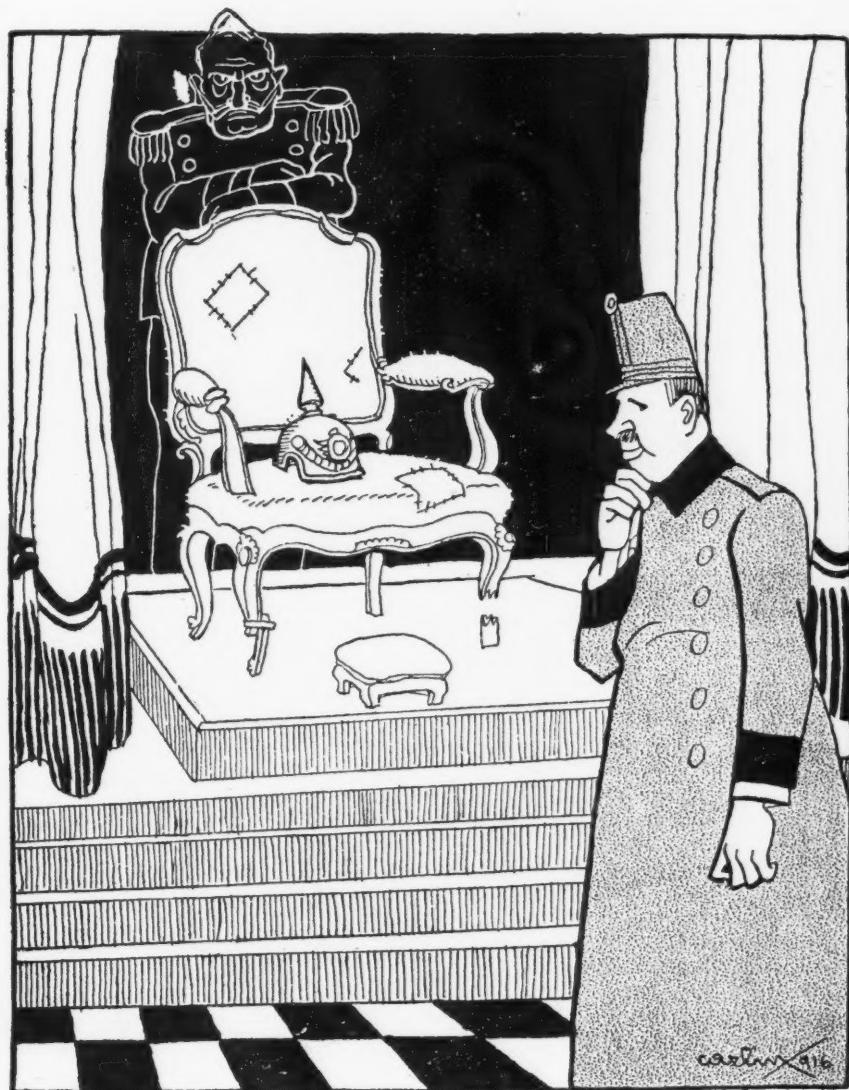
—© *Le Rire, Paris.*

ST. PETER TO FRANCIS JOSEPH: "The special benediction of the Pope! Out of here, you dog! This place would be too comfortable for you!"

[This extraordinarily bitter cartoon appeared on the front page of *Le Rire*.]

[Italian Cartoon]

## The Austrian Throne

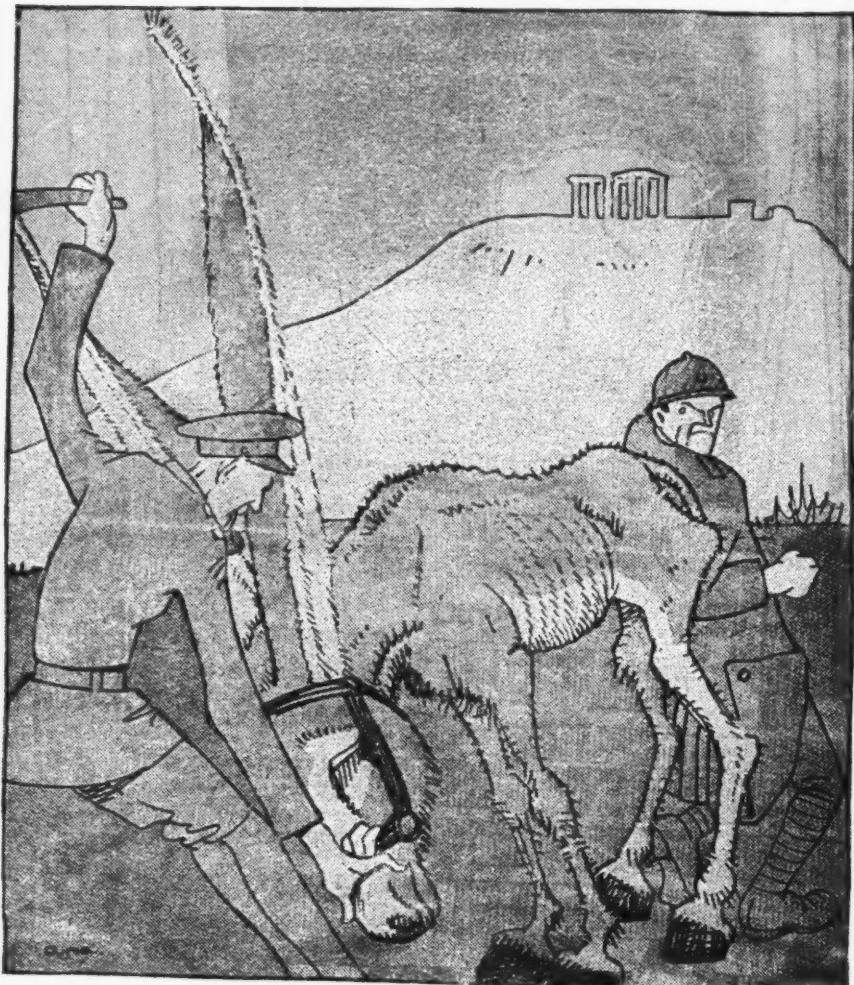


—From *Il Numero*, Turin.

CHARLES I.: "I can get along with the breaks and repairs, but that spike can't be very comfortable."

[Spanish Cartoon]

## Constantine of Greece



—From *Iberia*, Barcelona.

A difficult subject.

[German Cartoon]

## Venizelos and Martyred Greece

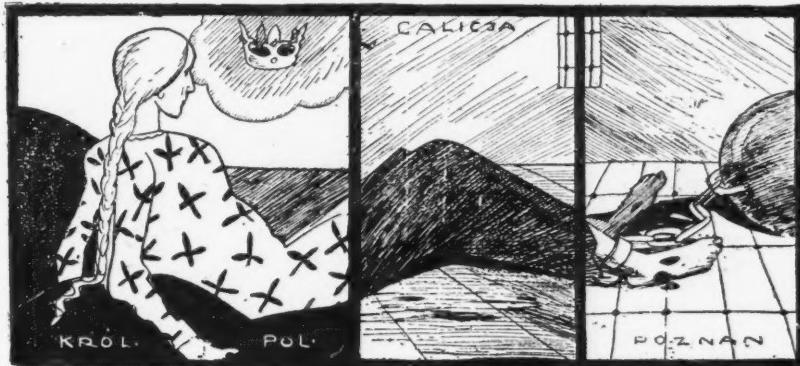


—© Simplicissimus, Munich.

VENIZELOS TO THE ALLIES: "May you never withdraw your protection from my unhappy country!"

[Polish Cartoon]

## Polish Freedom—German Style



—From Mucha of Moscow, late of Warsaw.

A picture of "free Poland" as conceived by the impressionist artist, Wilhelmus Hohenzollernicus.

[The three divisions represent the Kingdom of Poland, (in Russia,) Galicia, (Austrian,) and Posen, (German Poland.)]

[Dutch Cartoon]

## Wilson the Balancer



—By Raemakers. © 1916, all rights reserved.

There can be no peace between Justice and Militarism.

[American Cartoon]

## The Peace-Proposal Game



—From *The New York Times*.

ENTENTE ALLIES: "Our cards are on the table; show yours."

[German Cartoon]

## Premier Briand's Hope



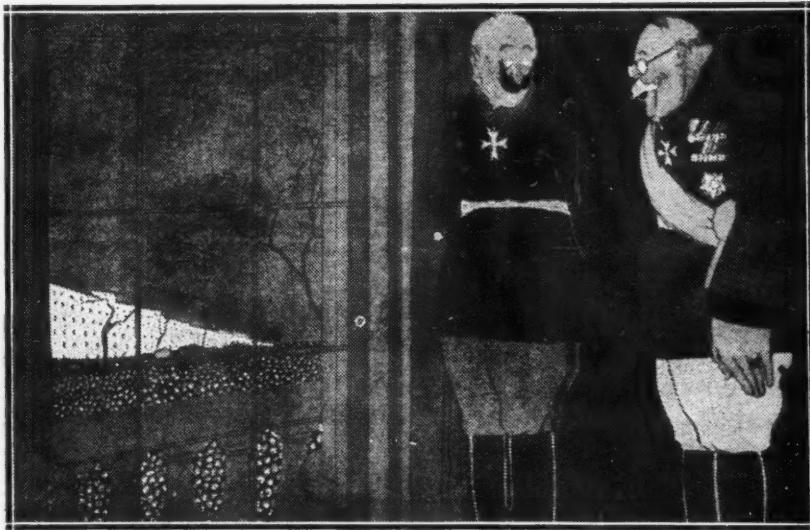
—© *Der Brummer, Berlin.*

The rising generation in France.

[A German fling at the Allies' employment of Asiatic and African troops on the French front.]

[French Cartoon]

## The Berlin Food Riots



—From *La Baionnette*, Paris.

HINDENBURG: "Sire, they ask for bread."  
KAISER WILHELM: "Give them victories."

[German Cartoon]

## Starvation Policy



—From *Nebelspalter*, Zurich.

JOHN BULL: "If you don't come out I shall soon be in a starving condition myself."

[German Cartoon]

## On the Somme

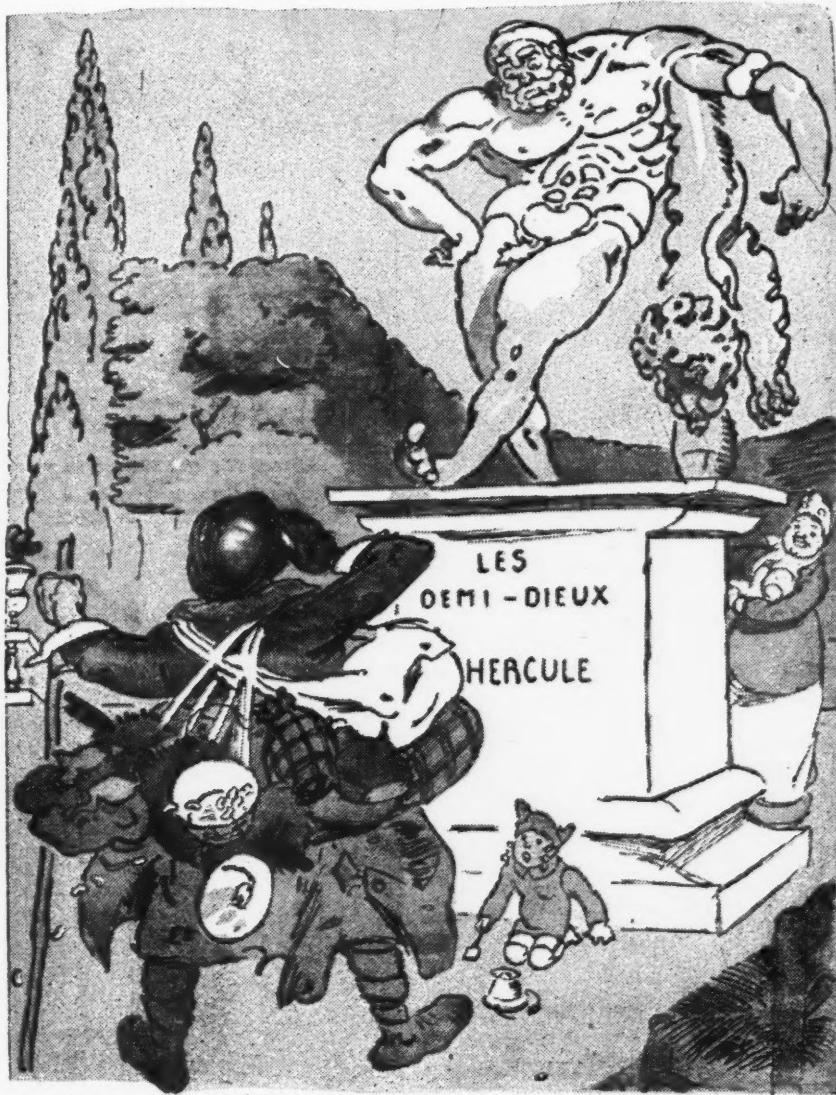


—© Simplicissimus, Munich.

FIRST TOMMY: "Have we won any ground today?"  
SECOND TOMMY: "Not enough to bury our dead in."

[French Cartoon]

## The Modern Demigod



—© *Le Rire, Paris.*

THE POILU: "Say, old man, come down off there and make way for me."

[American Cartoons]

Russia's Aims



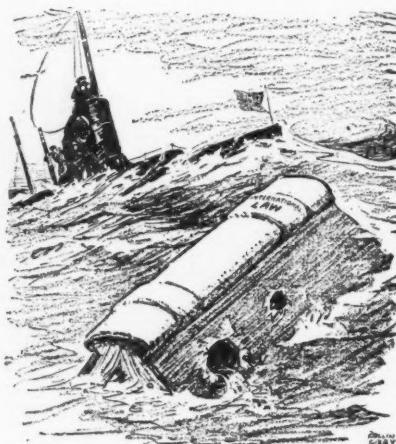
—From *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*.  
For Humanity and CONSTANTINOPLE!

Germany's Peace Proposal



—From *The Des Moines Register*.  
Evidently the Kaiser is for quitting while the quitting is good.

A Submarine Error



—From *The New York World*.

Thought it was a warship.

Pay As You Enter!



—From *The Baltimore American*.  
Who enters here must leave militarism behind.

[German Cartoon]

## The Knack of Being Too Late

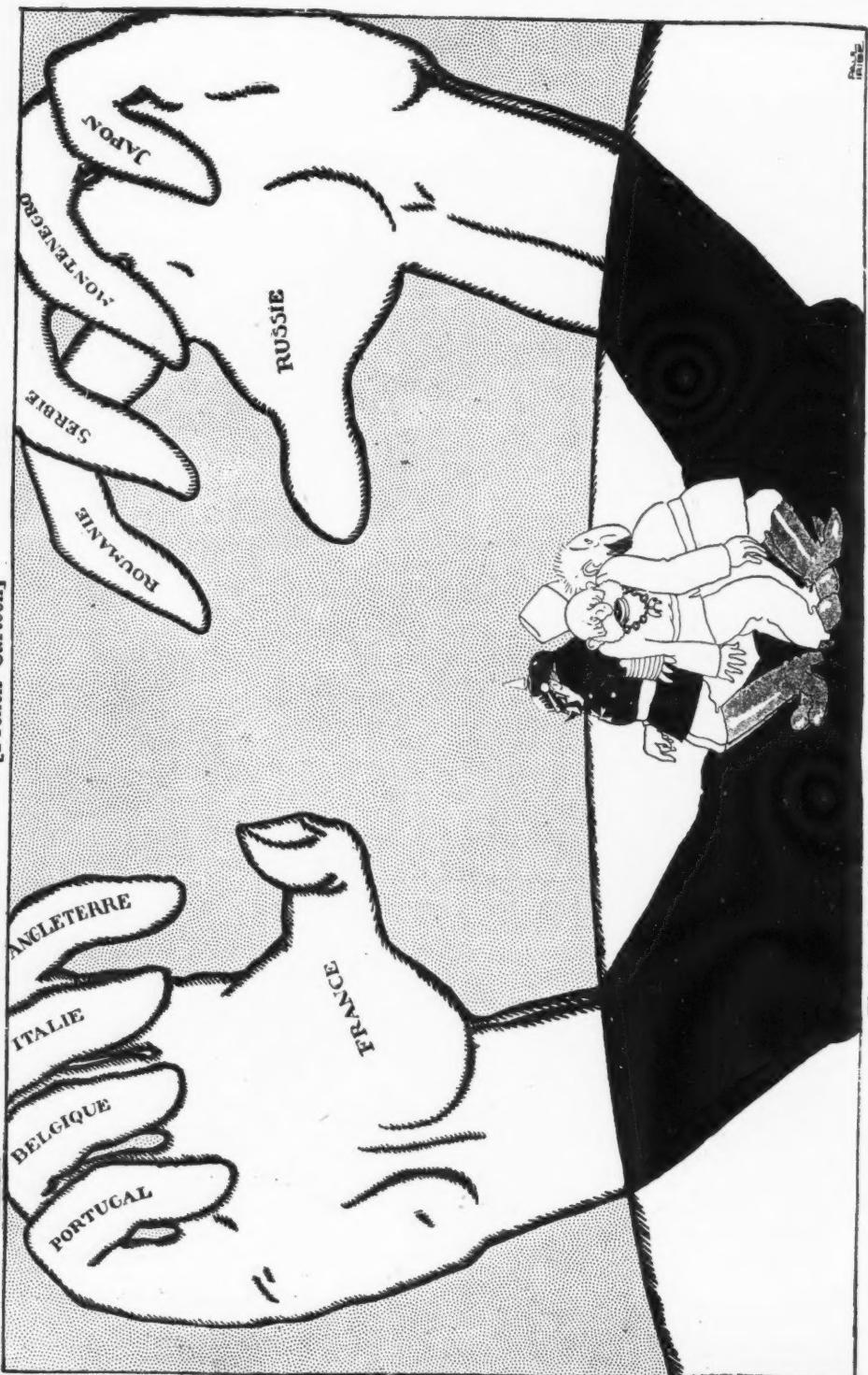


—© Simplicissimus, Munich.

RUMANIA: "Help! Help!"

ALLIES: "Hold your tongue! You are disturbing our deliberations on how to rescue you!"

[French Cartoon]



The hands of justice—they'll get 'em—they'll get 'em!

—From *La Bâtonnette*, Paris.

# Financial Aspects of the War

## MONEY IN CIRCULATION

THE per capita circulation of money in the United States on Jan. 1, 1917, was the highest in our history, \$43; 1916, \$38.48; 1914, \$35.11; 1911, \$34.25; 1907, \$33.78. The total money in circulation Jan. 1 was \$4,440,932,694, an increase of \$137,987,400 in a month.

\* \* \*

## FRENCH GOLD

THE Bank of France is accumulating an enormous quantity of gold from the hoardings of the masses. An engraved certificate is issued to any one who exchanges gold for paper. In addition to this method of patriotic appeal, a bill has been introduced proposing that after the war all gold coins in the bank's possession shall be restruck so as to bear the peace date—which he suggests will be 1917—and that only these coins shall be legal. All other gold coins, he argues, must have remained in the hands of unpatriotic Frenchmen, who deserve to suffer for retaining them.

M. Bouffandeau has found that of the \$2,400,000,000 which represents France's total gold coinage only \$1,600,000,000 is at the present moment known to be in the State's possession and abroad, hence \$800,000,000 is still concealed somewhere.

He would have a special law passed to guarantee the value of their gold coins to foreigners holding them, but "Frenchmen," he writes, "have not the right to keep their gold when the country needs it, and thanks to my bill, those who have shut their ears and safes will be affected in their pockets, and it will be just!"

M. Bouffandeau's calculation that \$800,000,000 in gold still remains in private possession is greatly in excess of the figure generally believed to represent the amount. M. Edmond Thierry, an authority on the subject, places France's gold, after twenty-eight months of war, at \$1,009,000,000 in the Bank of France and about \$400,000,000 in the hands of the public, (half the Deputy's figure,) with \$198,000,000 credits abroad, or a total gold reserve of \$1,600,000,000.

## UNITED STATES BANKING ABROAD

THE Federal Reserve Board has authorized the Bank of England to become the agent and correspondent of the New York Reserve Bank, and possibly this bank and other Reserve Banks will become agents of the Bank of England.

The arrangement was made possible by amendments to the Federal Reserve Bank act by Congress last session. Owing to the difficulties encountered in conducting foreign exchange during the war, it was deemed advisable to expand the Reserve system and make it possible for banks in Europe to appoint agents and maintain gold funds here with which to meet the obligations incident to war purchases. The Bank of England had never adopted the policy of having foreign agents until the necessities of the present war made it advisable to maintain a gold fund in Ottawa. The plan adopted has worked so well that it can be seen that similar agents in the United States would be to the advantage of Great Britain.

In line with this expansion of the exchange mechanism between the United States and Great Britain is the growing demand from business men of the British colonies for closer relations with this country. Australia particularly has been multiplying her purchases in the United States. Canada never did so much business here as now. Recent trade reports show that capital from this country is going into Canada at a rate never before witnessed. The relations between the two countries are rapidly assuming important proportions. Canadian capitalists are turning to the United States for funds, and it is regarded as essential that banking relations should be prepared to meet the certain trend of business.

The Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Bank of New Zealand has returned from a four months' trip through the United States and Canada, and announces that arrangements have been completed with American banks whereby dollar credits can be arranged to facilitate trade between New Zealand and

America. Consul General Winslow, at Auckland, in a dispatch to the Department of Commerce, says this will be in the interest of American trade and now is the time for American manufacturers and exporters to make the most of it.

A reciprocal arrangement similar to that established with the Bank of England is expected soon to be made with the Bank of France.

\* \* \*

#### RAILROAD EARNINGS

MORE than \$1,000,000,000 net income from operations was made by the railroads of the United States in the year 1916. The huge total is the peak of prosperity in railroad operations, and stands more than one-third higher than the total of 1913, hitherto the banner year. Statistics gathered by the Interstate Commerce Commission, complete for nine months and made the basis for calculation for the entire year, indicate that the total net income from operations will be approximately \$1,098,000,000. For the first nine months of the year complete returns show \$785,558,266. Even this does not represent the full amount, as roads whose income is less than \$1,000,000 are not included. The estimate of \$1,098,000,000 is regarded by officials as conservative.

\* \* \*

#### COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES

O. P. AUSTIN, statistician of the Foreign Trade Department of the National City Bank, writing for THE NEW YORK TIMES ANNALIST for Jan. 1, 1917, says:

The commerce of the United States in the year just ended has been a surprise to the most optimistic. Who could have foreseen a year ago that our imports would reach nearly \$2,500,000,000 and the exports nearly \$5,500,000,000, and the total for the United States approximate \$8,000,000,000? But these are almost sure to be the approximate figures. Reports of the Department of Commerce, just received, show total imports for eleven months ending with November to be \$2,187,000,000, and if December even comes up to the monthly average of the year, the total for the full year will be about \$2,375,000,000, against \$1,818,000,000 in 1912, the former high record calendar year in imports. Exports are even more astonishing. They show for the eleven months \$4,961,000,000, and if December equals November will be \$5,475,000,000, against \$3,547,000,000 in 1915, the former high-record calendar year.

And it must be remembered, too, that these enormous totals have come with several of the great trading countries temporarily wiped off the commercial map. Our total trade with Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and Belgium has been but \$35,000,000, against \$700,000,000 in the latest normal year.

\* \* \*

#### NATIONAL BANK RESOURCES

THE resources of the national banks of the United States on Nov. 17, 1916, were \$15,520,000,000. This exceeds by \$1,000,000,000 the combined resources of the Bank of England, the Bank of France, the Bank of Russia, the German Reichsbank, the Bank of Italy, the Bank of Spain, the Bank of the Netherlands, the Bank of Denmark, the Swiss National Bank, and the Imperial Bank of Japan.

The resources of the national banks throughout the country have doubled since the Spring of 1906.

Against total resources of \$7,670,000,000 in April, 1906, their assets on Nov. 17, 1916, were, as shown above, \$15,520,000,000, the increase being nearly \$8,000,000,000. The resources of the national banks on the date of the latest call are greater than the total resources of all reporting State banks, savings banks, private banks, and loan and trust companies throughout the United States at the time of the inauguration of the Federal Reserve system, about two years ago.

\* \* \*

#### EXPORT TRADE

THE National City Bank's compilation shows that the total exports of manufactures from the United States during the year 1916 exceeded \$3,000,000,000, \$1,000,000,000 more than Great Britain's highest record, which was made in 1913. Since the beginning of the war the United States has made its great increase in the exportation of manufactures, which amounted in the calendar year 1914 to \$974,000,000, in 1915 to \$1,784,000,000, and 1916 will approximate \$3,200,000,000.

The growth in exports since the beginning of the war is, of course, due in a considerable degree to the demands for strictly war material, explosives alone being for 1916 approximately \$675,000,000, brass tubes for the manufacture of shells \$225,000,000; while in many other

## FINANCIAL ASPECTS OF THE WAR

articles, such as automobiles and various articles of iron and steel, there is also a large increase, though just what proportion of the growth is due to the demands of the war can only be estimated. Of iron and steel manufactures of all kinds the exports of the full year show a total of approximately \$900,000,000 against \$200,000,000 in 1914.

\* \* \*

**F**OR the week ended Jan. 10, 1917, the following changes occurred in the banks named: Bank of England reserve increased £1,386,000, a percentage of 19.14, as against 22.46 per cent. for the same period in 1916; Bank of France gold increased 12,235,550 francs; Bank of Germany gold increased 429,000 marks.

\* \* \*

### COST OF THE WAR

**T**HE great war up to Jan. 1, 1917, cost \$61,000,000,000, and is costing \$105,000,000 each day. The figures for the

principal nations involved are given here:

Country.	Total cost to Dec. 31, 1916.	Present av. cost per day.
Great Britain:		
United Kingdom	\$14,374,000,000	\$23,500,000
Canada	400,000,000	900,000
Other colonies	600,000,000	600,000
Total Gt. Britain	\$15,374,000,000	\$23,500,000
France	\$12,200,000,000	\$18,000,000
Russia	8,500,000,000	16,000,000
Italy	4,000,000,000	7,000,000
Belgium	400,000,000	1,000,000
Serbia	330,000,000	1,000,000
Rumania	250,000,000	2,000,000
Entente Allies	\$41,144,000,000	\$70,000,000
Germany	\$14,600,000,000	\$21,000,000
Austria	5,000,000,000	11,000,000
Turkey	650,000,000	1,500,000
Bulgaria	375,000,000	1,500,000
Central Allies	\$20,625,000,000	\$35,000,000
Grand total	\$61,769,000,000	\$105,000,000

The aggregate direct cost of the twenty greatest wars in the century and a quarter preceding the outbreak of the present struggle was not in excess of \$22,000,000,000.

### UNITED STATES HOME

Calendar Years.	Net Income of the United States.	United States—Net Income Minus Imports at Retail Prices.	Foreign Trade of United States—Exports at Domestic Retail Prices.	Ratio sign to Domestic Trade, %.
1890	\$9,300,000,000	\$8,100,000,000	\$1,300,000,000	16.1
1891	10,400,000,000	9,200,000,000	1,400,000,000	15.2
1892	10,000,000,000	8,700,000,000	1,400,000,000	16.1
1893	10,100,000,000	8,900,000,000	1,300,000,000	14.6
1894	8,300,000,000	7,300,000,000	1,200,000,000	16.5
1895	8,400,000,000	7,200,000,000	1,200,000,000	16.7
1896	7,900,000,000	6,900,000,000	1,500,000,000	21.8
1897	8,000,000,000	6,900,000,000	1,600,000,000	23.2
1898	9,100,000,000	8,200,000,000	1,900,000,000	23.2
1899	10,900,000,000	9,700,000,000	1,900,000,000	19.6
1900	12,900,000,000	11,700,000,000	2,200,000,000	18.8
1901	14,600,000,000	13,300,000,000	2,200,000,000	16.5
1902	15,600,000,000	14,200,000,000	2,000,000,000	14.1
1903	17,700,000,000	16,200,000,000	2,200,000,000	13.6
1904	18,000,000,000	16,500,000,000	2,200,000,000	13.3
1905	19,600,000,000	17,800,000,000	2,400,000,000	13.5
1906	21,500,000,000	19,500,000,000	2,700,000,000	13.8
1907	26,600,000,000	24,500,000,000	2,900,000,000	11.8
1908	23,000,000,000	21,300,000,000	2,600,000,000	12.2
1909	27,600,000,000	25,400,000,000	2,600,000,000	10.2
1910	30,500,000,000	28,200,000,000	2,800,000,000	9.9
1911	29,600,000,000	27,300,000,000	3,100,000,000	11.4
1912	33,800,000,000	31,100,000,000	3,600,000,000	11.6
1913	34,800,000,000	32,100,000,000	3,700,000,000	11.5
1914	32,600,000,000	29,900,000,000	3,200,000,000	10.7
1915	35,400,000,000	32,700,000,000	5,300,000,000	16.4
1916	49,200,000,000	45,800,000,000	8,200,000,000	17.9

Retail prices of exports and imports are obtained by adding 50 per cent. to the wholesale figures reported, on the assumption that wholesale prices are two-thirds of retail prices. The percentages in the final column are obtained by dividing the figures for foreign trade by the figures for domestic trade. The percentage would reach 100 when foreign trade becomes equal to domestic trade.

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